

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
FOI/PA
DELETED PAGE INFORMATION SHEET
FOI/PA# 1249718-1

Total Deleted Page(s) = 7

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Page 98 ~ b7D;

Page 99 ~ Duplicate;

Page 103 ~ b7D;

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Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 7/29/59

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, aka
SM-C

Re NY let to Bureau dated 1/23/59.

On 7/28/59 Mr. Lawrence Mc Gawley, AUSA, SDNY, advised SA Thomas J. Croke, Jr. that there has been no change in the perjury case against the subject and that the case is open and the indictment is pending. He stated the Department is still considering filing a nolle prosequi in this matter. Mc Gawley stated that he does not know when any action will be taken in the matter.

As the only lead outstanding is to follow the perjury case against the subject with the USA, SDNY, this case is being maintained in a pending in-active status in the NYO.

2-Bureau (40-3798) RM
1-New York (100-25693)

TJC:cmq
(3)

EX 101

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/99 BY [REDACTED]

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REC- 38 40-3798-828

25 JUL 30 1959

SUBST. CONTROL

REC- 3 15 JUL 22
62 AUG 5 1959
FBI NEW YORK

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11/17/59

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1469)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-321)
SUBJECT: WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
IS-R
(OO:NY)

ReNYairtel to the Bureau, 11/13/59.

AUSA JOHN S. CLARK, SDNY, advised on 11/17/59,
Subject has made short appearances before the Federal
Grand Jury on [redacted]

[redacted] AUSA CLARK
The Grand Jury has called Subject to appear on
[redacted]

AUSA CLARK advised that in a short conversation
with Attorney O. JOHN ROGGE on 11/17/59, ROGGE mentioned
that he had filed for an immediate dismissal of the perjury
indictment outstanding against EARL BROWDER. CLARK advised
he had no other details concerning this matter.

AUSA [redacted] who handles the EARL
BROWDER case in the SDNY's office, will be contacted for
information concerning what action will be taken re EARL
BROWDER. The Bureau will be advised.

- 4 - Bureau (100-1469) (RM)
1 - New York (100-3798) (EARL BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-25693) (EARL BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-321)

FAQ:cpo
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DATE 6/1/99 BY [redacted]
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Orig - Belmont
cc's - Tamm

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NY 100-321

On 11/12/59, subject appeared before the
Federal Grand Jury (FDJ) and [REDACTED]

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[REDACTED] AUSA CLARK plans to take
subject before a Federal Judge if he continues to abuse the use
of the [REDACTED] before the Grand Jury in an attempt to make
him answer questions.

AUSA is formulating his plans for the subject
and also what action will be taken in the event EARL BROWDER
moves for an immediate trial.

AUSA CLARK plans to call subject's wife, ROSE,
before the FDJ to determine her attitude and determine if she will
answer questions.

The Bureau will be kept advised concerning
developments in this matter.

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1469)

9/24/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-321)

WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER, aka.
IS-R
OO: NEW YORK

ReBulet to NY dated 8/24/59.

EARL BROWDER contacted 9/22/59. He requested to know what the inquiry concerned and was told that he was undoubtedly aware that we had been in contact with MARGARET, ROSE and WILL BROWDER in a matter which we are interested. It was in this connection that we wanted to interview him. He replied by stating, "as you are well aware I am under indictment and I do not feel I should become involved in any matters with the FBI until the indictment is disposed of one way or the other". He stated after the indictment is disposed of we could recontact him and he would determine at that time whether or not to grant an interview.

On 9/22/59, AUSA JOHN CLARK was advised of EARL BROWDER's comments. He gave no decision as to his future actions concerning EARL BROWDER.

WILLIAM BROWDER will be interviewed on 9/24/59.

Bureau will be advised.

- Bureau (100-1469)(RM)
- (1- 40-3798)(EARL BROWDER)
- 1- New York (100-25693)
- 1- New York (100-321)

FAG:ptp
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/29/99 BY [redacted]

40-3798-
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- Belmont
1 - Branigan
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1 - FL Jones
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SAC, New York (100-321)

Director, FBI (100-1469)

WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
ESPIONAGE - R

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/28/99 BY [redacted]

Copies of this letter are furnished for your files on Margaret, Rose and Earl Browder (100-59645, 100-62661 and 100-25693). The Bureau agrees with recommendations in New York letter dated 8-13-59. You are therefore authorized to continue to interview William Browder as often as practical so long as he continues to be friendly in an effort to obtain information in his possession regarding Soviet espionage. You are authorized to interview Rose, Margaret and Earl Browder as suggested in your letter and no further Bureau authority is necessary. You should continue the investigation in an effort to develop additional evidence against all of these individuals to establish their participation in Soviet espionage activities and to locate witnesses who could be used to establish such participation or to support perjury prosecution.

The Bureau agrees with New York that the primary objective of these interviews and investigation is to obtain the cooperation of one or more of these individuals. A secondary objective is to obtain sufficient evidence to sustain prosecution. Based upon the results of your interviews and the results of their appearances before the Federal Grand Jury the Bureau will subsequently give consideration to discussion with representatives of the Department the question of immunity. It is requested that you continue to give this matter very careful attention.

1 - 100-341048 (Rose Browder)
1 - 100-257645 (Margaret Browder)
1 - 40-3798 (Earl Browder)
KTT:cgw
(14)

Cover memo Branigan to Belmont prepared by KTT:cgw 8-19-59 re William, Rose, Margaret & Earl Browder.

Tolson _____
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McGuire _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
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Gandy _____

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A. H. Belmont

1 - Belmont
1 - Branigan
1 - Horner
1 - FL Jones
1 - Turner

8-19-59

W. A. Branigan

WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
ESPIONAGE - R
100-1469

ROSE BROWDER
ESPIONAGE - R
100-341048

MARGARET BROWDER
IS - R
100-287645

EARL BROWDER
ESPIONAGE - R and SM - C
40-3798

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DATE 12/18/94 BY [redacted]

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The following is submitted to recommend that we initiate a planned program in an effort to obtain information from the captioned individuals regarding Soviet espionage in this country or to prosecute them either for their participation in Soviet espionage or for perjury and denials of such participation.

During the investigation of Jack Soble, et al., it was ascertained that William Browder and his wife, Rose, had participated in Soviet espionage activities. William Browder recruited Jane Zlatevski and she furnished information to him while employed by the Government. Rose Browder placed Lucy Booker in contact with the Zubilins which resulted in her recruitment for Soviet intelligence activity. Booker has advised that the Zubilins introduced her to Margaret Browder and she assumed that Margaret was involved in covert activity with the Zubilins. Elizabeth Bentley has furnished information indicating Earl Browder's connection with Soviet espionage.

William and Rose Browder have been interviewed subsequent to the arrest of Jack Soble, et al., and have testified before the grand jury where they obviously committed perjury. Pursuant to Bureau instructions their cases have been discussed with AUSA John S. Clark who has advised that due to the nature of the questions put to them before the grand jury and the fact that we do not have 2 witnesses to testify to the facts, perjury prosecutions cannot be sustained. With regard to

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Enclosure
BPP:cgw
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140-3798-
NOT RECORDED
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Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
100-1469

Best Copy Available

ROSE BROWDER
100-341048

MARGARET BROWDER
100-287645

EARL BROWDER
40-3798

Margaret Browder he advised that she should be called before a Federal Grand Jury and questioned. In this connection it is noted that Margaret Browder was interviewed in April, 1958, and denied espionage activity. However, when the agent began to discuss her association with Vasil and Elizabeth Zubilin she became extremely nervous, began to pace the floor and stated that she must protect herself against self-incrimination and thereafter refused to answer any more questions. Although the report setting forth results of the interview was disseminated to the USA and to the Department she has not been called before the grand jury.

Earl Browder has not been specifically interviewed since the Sobel arrests concerning his association with the Zubilins or Soviet espionage activities. Analysis of testimony of Rose and William Browder before the grand jury disclosed that they had consulted with Earl before appearance and it is most likely that Earl is advising them concerning their testimony and possibly concerning their interviews with agents.

We have continued to interview William Browder on several occasions since the Sobel arrest, the last interview being conducted on 6-24-59. At that time he furnished some additional information and appeared friendly towards the Bureau although it is obvious that he has withheld information. He stated he had no objection to future interviews so long as they did not take him away from his work during the day. New York believes that he would much rather be interviewed than to appear before a grand jury. Rose Browder was last interviewed on 9-9-58 at which time she was uncooperative, evasive, abusive and unfriendly. In spite of this New York believes that she should be interviewed in the future on an infrequent basis. New York also believes that Margaret and Earl Browder should be contacted to ascertain their current attitudes and to determine if they will furnish any additional information.

New York has pointed out that all of these individuals could furnish valuable information regarding Soviet espionage activities in the U.S. and could not only identify a number of persons known to have been

Memorandum to Mr. Belmont
Re: WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
100-1469

ROSE BROWDER
100-341048

MARGARET BROWDER
100-287645

EARL BROWDER
40-3798

engaged in espionage but could furnish valuable information which would assist in prosecuting other individuals. New York, therefore, has recommended that New York be authorized to interview William Browder as often as appears practical without obtaining additional Bureau authority. New York recommends that Rose Browder be interviewed on an infrequent basis in an effort to obtain information which would assist in the interviews of William Browder. New York recommends that Margaret and Earl Browder be interviewed to ascertain their attitudes as indicated above. The AUSA Clark has advised that he has no objection to any of these interviews. He pointed out that Earl Browder is under indictment (since 9-26-52) for perjury based on testimony at an INS hearing regarding his wife. He intends to determine from the Department if there are any legal barriers to subpoenaing him before a grand jury.

New York has recommended that in the event we are not able to obtain information in possession of one or more of the Browsers, we should then look toward prosecution and conduct appropriate investigation in an effort to obtain sufficient evidence. This would include additional appearance before the grand jury of all of these people. As a final step if the above are not successful, New York suggests that consideration be given to discussing with the Department the question of granting immunity to one or all of the Browsers to attempt to secure the information in their possession.

RECOMMENDATION:

Inasmuch as the Sobie case gives us an opportunity to put some pressure on the Browsers through interview and grand jury action, it is believed that we should make every possible effort to obtain the information in their possession or to prosecute them in that order. It is recommended, therefore, that we approve New York's recommendation for interviews of these 4 individuals. After we have explored all possibilities of obtaining the information through interviews their cases will again be discussed with the USA's Office in an effort to put pressure on them through grand jury subpoenas. In the interim every effort will be made to obtain additional evidence for possible prosecution. Based upon the developments we will thereafter consider discussion with the Department concerning the granting of immunity. Attached for your approval is an appropriate letter to New York.

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DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1469)

8/13/59

SAC, NEW YORK (100-321)

WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
ESPIONAGE - R
(OO:NY)

5/18/99
CLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X [REDACTED]

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ReBulet to NY, 7/8/59.

The matter of EARL BROWDER, MARGARET BROWDER, ROSE BROWDER and the subject was discussed with AUSA JOHN S. CLARK on 7/28/59. His opinion concerning each individual will hereafter be set out under a heading concerning these individuals.

WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER

As the Bureau will note, the subject has only appeared before the Federal Grand Jury, NYC, on one occasion, that being on [REDACTED].

A review of the testimony of subject on 3/20/59, was discussed with AUSA CLARK and he is of the opinion that many pertinent questions that should have been asked were not asked of the subject. He stated that subject should be called before a Federal Grand Jury so many more questions could be asked of him to lay a better basis for any contemplated perjury on his part. AUSA CLARK is of the opinion that since we cannot use the information furnished by JANE FOSTER ZLATOVSKI, that at the present time there is insufficient information available for any charges against the subject. He stated a review of this matter reflects that we are lacking two witnesses to bring the charge of perjury against him. A review of the interviews of the subject by Special Agents of the FBI reflects he is obviously not revealing the information he has in his possession, but he is also noted that he has revealed a little new information each time interviewed.

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- 5 - Bureau (100-1469)
 (1-100-287645) (MARGARET BROWDER)
 (1-100-341048) (ROSE BROWDER)
 (1-40-3798) (EARL BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-59645) (MARGARET BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-52661) (ROSE BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-25693) (EARL BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-321)

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It is the observation of interviewing agents, gained during the last interview of subject on 6/24/59, that he would rather be interviewed by Bureau agents during the evening hours rather than be subjected to Grand Jury inquiries during the day when it would take him away from his work and possibly cost him his job. As noted, his present employment is not known and he was not pressed on this matter inasmuch as it appears some individuals, such as the subject, feel their present jobs are menial and below their capabilities and they are reluctant to reveal this information. It is felt we will determine his employment during future interviews which we are recommending.

On the basis of subject's statements to interviewing agents on 6/24/59, that he had no objection to future interviews it is recommended we interview him until he furnishes the information he has or it becomes apparent he will furnish no further information.

We would like to have Bureau authority to arrange these interviews as often as we feel they can be conducted without having to obtain Bureau authority before each interview.

It appears to an agent who has interviewed the subject, ROSE and MARGARET BROWDER, that the subject is not as arrogant or unfriendly as the other two individuals.

It is recommended that at the present time we concentrate our efforts in an attempt to secure the information he has in his possession.

It is also our observation that should any one of the BROWDERS talk it will undoubtedly deeply involve all of them in Soviet intelligence activities during the

NY 100-321

1930's and until the latter part of 1945, at which time they were kicked out of the CP. It would also appear that EARL BROWDER has at least partial control over the subject, ROSE, and MARGARET as to what their actions should be before the Federal Grand Juries and during interviews by Bureau agents. This will be pointed out under the heading of ROSE BROWDER.

ROSE BROWDER, nee EULER

[redacted] appeared before the Federal Grand Jury, NYC, on [redacted]

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A review of her testimony on both of these occasions reveals that she is undoubtedly not telling the truth and has also committed perjury. In this connection, during her testimony on [redacted] she was asked if she had discussed her interviews with the FBI before the Federal Grand Jury [redacted]

[redacted]

[redacted]

A review of her testimony reflects many instances where she was vague, indefinite and hedged on her answers. The above might indicate that both BILL and ROSE are conferring with EARL BROWDER before each appearance before the Federal Grand Jury and he might be advising and controlling them to protect himself.

It is the observation of a Special Agent who has interviewed both WILLIAM and ROSE that ROSE is a much stronger-willed individual than BILL. Therefore, although it is recommended we interview ROSE, that these interviews not be as frequent as those with BILL. It is also felt

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ROSE will probably never reveal the information in her possession unless BILL should tell us what he knows.

The testimony of ROSE and the information available were discussed with AUSA CLARK and he feels that although it is apparent she has committed perjury, that we are lacking two witnesses to substantiate a charge of perjury against her on pertinent questions at the present time.

MARGARET BROWDER

It was pointed out to AUSA CLARK that MARGARET BROWDER, although she knew ZUBILIN in the US and Germany and had been involved in other Soviet espionage activities, that she had never appeared before a Federal Grand Jury in connection with the MOYCASE..

Information concerning MARGARET BROWDER's activities known to us was pointed out to AUSA CLARK and he was in complete agreement that she should be called before a Federal Grand Jury so that she can be

[REDACTED]

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EARL BROWDER

It is noted that EARL BROWDER is presently under indictment for perjury and there is no indication that this indictment is going to be dismissed. The fact that BILL said he "guessed" EARL met ZUBILIN in Moscow and also the information concerning EARL sending FRANK LAYVERNE PALMER to MARGARET BROWDER where he was introduced to his first Soviet principal was discussed with AUSA CLARK.

AUSA CLARK is of the opinion that EARL BROWDER should be called before a Federal Grand Jury and asked

[REDACTED]

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NY 100-321

AUSA CLARK said he would direct a letter to the Department to determine if there are any legal barriers or objections to calling EARL BROWDER before a Federal Grand Jury in connection with the MOCASE investigation, inasmuch as he is under indictment.

It is also recommended that we contact EARL BROWDER and "feel him out" as to his present attitude as well as to determine his present feelings about WILLIAM and ROSE's interviews and appearances before the Federal Grand Jury. It is felt we can readily determine after one contact what his attitude is and whether future contacts should be had with him.

AUSA CLARK stated he would attempt to put EARL, if the Department has no objection, [redacted] before a Federal Grand Jury about [redacted]. He stated in the meantime he has no objection to us interviewing any or all of the BROWDERS,

It is felt that our first objective in this matter should be to get the cooperation of these people and secondly, if they continue to prove uncooperative, to develop their cases for prosecution. [redacted]

[redacted]

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It is felt that if we should ever get all the information from the BROWERS that not only would we identify a number of persons mentioned in [redacted] but would also determine the identity of numerous individuals who may have had Soviet intelligence connections in the past. (S) (U)

THE FACT THAT WE ARE [redacted]

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(S) [redacted] BEFORE THE FEDERAL GRAND JURY AND [redacted] (U) [redacted] AS MENTIONED ABOVE, IS NOT TO BE MADE KNOWN OUTSIDE THE BUREAU.

UACB, by 8/27/59, we will contact MARGARET, BOSS and WILLIAM BROWDER for the purpose of interviews and thereafter will interview them as often as they will consent to be interviewed.

By separate letter under the caption of EARL BROWDER, will request Bureau authority to contact him as set out in this letter.

Mr. A. H. Belmont

July 8, 1959

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

GILBERT GREEN
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
SMITH ACT OF 1940

HENRY WINSTON
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
SMITH ACT OF 1940

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DATE 10-19-92 BY

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By letter July 2, 1959, Vice President Nixon requested the Director's advice as to how he, Nixon, might answer a letter from Earl Browder, former general secretary of the Communist Party (CP), USA, dated June 18, 1959, in which Browder suggests that the prison sentences of communist leaders Green and Winston be commuted to time already served.

BACKGROUND:

Green and Winston were among the defendants convicted in the first New York Smith Act trial in 1949 for conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow of the U. S. Government in violation of the Smith Act of 1940. Each received a five-year prison sentence and was fined \$10,000. Following the upholding of their convictions in this case by the Supreme Court on June 4, 1951, Green and Winston, along with defendants Gus Hall and Robert Thompson, failed to surrender on July 2, 1951, to begin serving their sentences. Green and Winston ultimately surrendered on February 27, 1956, and March 5, 1956, respectively, and each received an additional three-year sentence for contempt which convictions were upheld by the Supreme Court on March 31, 1958. Green and Winston are currently serving their combined sentences of eight years.

BROWDER'S LETTER

In his letter Browder describes Green and Winston as obscure men who happen to be symbols of issues that influence international thinking and who are now serving prison terms which will result in long separation from their families. Browder claims

Enclosure

Tolson 100-35868 (Green)
Belmont 100-1473 (Winston)
DeLoach 100-40-3798 (Browder)
McGuire
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Reddy

100-40-3798-
NOT RECORDED
176 JUL 15 1959

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-35868-108

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: GILBERT GREEN
HENRY WINSTON
100-35868
100-1473

he has no sympathy with the conduct of Green and Winston although he recalls them in the past as among the least dogmatic and fanatic of the CP leaders. He claims it unfortunate that they were not free in 1956-1957 since they most likely would have joined John Gates and his associates who left the Party and denounced their erstwhile Soviet mentors. He refers to a Supreme Court decision in the Los Angeles Smith Act case which distinguished between "advocacy" and "active conspiracy" and expresses doubt that Green and Winston would have originally been convicted if this standard had been applied to them.

Browder suggests "privately and entirely on my own" that commutation of Green's and Winston's sentences would add strength to Nixon's future international role and would furnish a dramatic contrast between the American way of dealing with "political dissidents" as against the Soviet method typified by the Soviet intervention in the Hungarian revolution.

OBSERVATIONS:

Browder's reasons for writing Vice President Nixon in the above vein are difficult to fathom. In view of his background, it is impossible to believe he was motivated, as he puts it, by "the firm belief that wiping this particular slate clean at this particular moment will strengthen America's moral position in a world where great populations hunger for a rebirth of morality." Since his expulsion from the CP in 1945, Browder has been interviewed on numerous occasions by Bureau Agents and has appeared before various congressional committees. He has admitted he is no longer a communist but has consistently refused to furnish information in his possession which would have been of great value to this country's intelligence coverage. The reason for Browder's letter may lie in the fact that Browder is known to be interested in establishing a new socialist-type organization in this country. New York has developed information that Browder, Joseph Starobin (who resigned from the Party in 1956) and John Gates (who left the Party in January, 1958) had scheduled meetings at Browder's home apparently to further this plan. It is not improbable that Browder is seeking commutation of Green's and Winston's sentences or at least a reply from Vice President Nixon to his request for commutation, solely for the purpose of attempting to wean Green and Winston away from the CP, USA, and into his own group. In this connection it is interesting to note that Browder made no mention in his letter to Mr. Nixon regarding Robert Thompson, a defendant of Green's and Winston's in the first New York Smith Act trial. Thompson is in exactly the same situation as Green and Winston.

Memorandum for Mr. Belmont
RE: GILBERT GREEN
HENRY WINSTON
100-35868
100-1473

Contrary to the tenor of Browder's letter the following are the facts:

Green and Winston are not "political dissidents" but are long-time, hard core members and functionaries of the CP, USA. Their complete dedication to the Party is amply proven by the fact that they deliberately went into the CP underground on orders from the CP leadership in 1951 and for almost five years voluntarily separated themselves from all contacts with their families. Had they desired to break away from the CP and "denounced their erstwhile Soviet mentors" as Browder suggests they might have done had they been free in 1956-1957, they could have taken this action regardless of their status and thus demonstrated their loyalty to this country. Green and Winston had all the advantages which a free society affords a person accused of a crime even such a heinous one as advocating overthrow of our form of Government. They were convicted after a seven-month jury trial; they had the benefit of numerous appeals to the highest courts in the land on both of their convictions and as recently as October, 1958, their cases were given full consideration by the U. S. Board of Parole. They would certainly have had none of these advantages had their crime taken place in the Soviet Union or in any of the satellite nations. At the present time the CP is operating a nationwide campaign in an attempt to secure the necessary signatures on applications for executive clemency for both Green and Winston.

RECOMMENDATION:

That a summary of the above facts be transmitted to Vice President Nixon and that the Director suggest that should he desire to answer Browder's letter he may desire to merely restate the facts that Green and Winston were convicted after a full trial and that their convictions under the Smith Act and that they have been reviewed by the highest court in the land and have been sustained. A letter to the Vice President is attached for his information. This letter also suggests that Nixon may wish to indicate his sympathy to Browder's proposal by a statement he is taking no action in furtherance of Browder's suggestion.

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office NEW YORK	Office of Origin NEW YORK	Date 11/11/59	Investigative Period 10/14 - 11/3/59
TITLE OF CASE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, aka		Report made by THOMAS J. CROKE, JR.	Typed By: alb
		CHARACTER OF CASE SECURITY MATTER - C; PERJURY	

REFERENCE: Report of SA THOMAS J. CROKE, JR.,
NY, dated 11/19/58.

- P* -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

The Special Agent who made the pretext telephone call to EARL BROWDER on 11/12/58, is identified as ANTHONY D. LEONE. The pretext used was that of a newspaper reporter making inquiries concerning BROWDER'S proposed trip abroad.

INFORMANTS:

Identity of source

File No. where located

NY T-1

100-25693-1638

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WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

Approved	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below
Copies made: 4 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM) 1 - INS, NYC (RM) 1 - USA, SDNY (Att: AUSA LAWRENCE MCGAULEY) (RM) 3 - New York (100-25693)		40-3798-829 23 NOV 16 1959 REC-99 EX-
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HOW FORW.
BY

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NY 100-25693

INFORMANTS CONT'D.

Identity of source

File No. where located

NY T-2

100-25693-1589

100-25693-1590

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NY T-3

100-25693-1612

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NY T-4

Used to characterize the
Militant Labor Forum

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NY T-5

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The informants who were contacted in
October, 1959, and who furnished no current informa-
tion concerning the subject are identified as
follows:

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Date Contacted</u>	<u>Contacting Agent</u>
<div></div>	10/15/59	LEROY W. SHEETS
	10/16/59	LEROY W. SHEETS
	10/14/59	JAMES P. HALLERON
	10/15/59	JAMES P. HALLERON
	10/19/59	JOHN A. HAAG

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NY 100-25693

INFORMANTS CONT'D.

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Date Contacted</u>	<u>Contacting Agent</u>
<div style="border: 1px solid black; width: 150px; height: 50px;"></div>	10/14/59	JOHN A. HAAG
	10/19/59	ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON

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LEAD:

NEW YORK

At New York, New York.

Will continue to follow this case with
the United States Attorney of the Southern District
of New York.

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NY 100-2993

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1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☒ Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____
7. ☒ This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because (state reason)
the information reported from NY T-3, NY T-4 and NY T-5 could reasonably result in the identification of confidential informants of continuing value and compromise their future effectiveness.
8. ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason)
he was contacted on 9/22/59, and refused to make an appointment to be interviewed.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
10. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) although the subject's current activities as such do not warrant his retention on the SI, due to the fact that the subject has had knowledge of and assisted in espionage activities of the CP in the past, & due to his long history of association with the CP in a leadership capacity, it is recommended that he be retained on the SI. (See report of SA JAMES E. HANLON, NY, dated 12/31/56.)
11. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
☒ His activities ☐ do ☒ do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~~~SECRET~~UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to: 1 - INS, NYC (RM)
1 - USA, SDNY (Att: AUSA LAWRENCE MCGAULEY) (RM)

Report of: THOMAS J. CROKE, JR. Office: New York
Date: 11/11/59

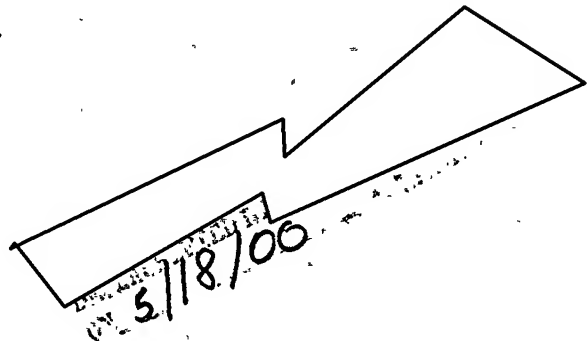
File Number: NY 100-25693 Bureau 40-3798

Title: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C; PERJURY

Synopsis: EARL BROWDER as of 10/26/59, resided at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, and was unemployed, but did some writing from his home. On 2/27/59, source advised that on 2/20/59, EARL BROWDER debated with FARRELL DOBBS, National Secretary, SWP, on the subject "Does Marxist Theory Retain Full Validity For the US?" BROWDER took the negative position. On 10/22/59, AUSA LAWRENCE MCGAULEY, SDNY, advised that the indictment against EARL BROWDER is still pending. The subject was telephonically contacted on 9/22/59, at which time he refused to make an appointment for an interview.

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NY 100-25693

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

Marital Status

"The Kansas City Times", Kansas City, Missouri, April 10, 1959, carried an article concerning Mrs. GLADYS L. BROWDER, 67, who on April 9, 1959, obtained a divorce in District Court, Wyandotte County, Kansas, from EARL RUSSELL BROWDER.

B. APPROX.
12/10

According to the article Mrs. BROWDER was granted the decree "on the grounds of having been abandoned by BROWDER, who has held several high Communist positions in the United States and lived in Russia for several years."

The article further said, "Mrs. BROWDER was married to BROWDER on January 22, 1911, in Wichita, and said she last saw him in 1924. They had one son, [redacted] a Detroit radio announcer whom BROWDER helped support now and then until 1947, when he was living in Russia."

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The article also said that, "BROWDER, 67, who ran several times for President on the Communist ticket, also had a Russian wife by whom he had three sons"

Residence

On October 26, 1959, NY T-1 advised that as of that date the subject resided at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York.

Employment

On October 26, 1959, NY T-1 advised that as far as he was able to observe, EARL BROWDER was unemployed but did some writing from his home.

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NY 100-25693

II. SUBJECT'S TRAVEL ABROAD

On November 12, 1958, a pretext telephone call was made by a Special Agent of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI), to a telephone number listed to EARL BROWDER, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York.

During this call an individual who identified himself as EARL BROWDER advised that he was leaving for London on Sunday, November 16, 1958, for a proposed two months stay. He advised that he was leaving by BOAC on Flight 550, leaving Idlewild Airport at 11:00 p.m. He stated his first stop would be in London where he said he would be lecturing and "renewing old acquaintances". He stated he was going to stay at the Strand Palace Hotel. He further advised that after his stay in London he would go to Paris where he would stay at the Regents Hotel. He stated most of his time would be spent in London. BROWDER stated that at that time (November 12, 1958) he did not know what other countries he would visit, but would know more about that after he got to Europe.

On December 29, 1958, NY T-2, a confidential source abroad, furnished information that EARL BROWDER had been in Yugoslavia for the past fifteen days.

On January 19, 1959, WILLIAM McCONNERTY, Supervisor in Charge, Immigration and Naturalization Service, Idlewild Airport, made available to SA HAROLD R. CLAUS records which reflected that EARL R. BROWDER, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, returned to the United States on January 18, 1959, via Flight BA 559. He boarded the plane at London, England.

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NY 100-25693

III. ACTIVITIES OF AND OPINIONS
EXPRESSED BY EARL BROWDER

The "Providence Evening Bulletin", Providence, Rhode Island, issue of October 28, 1958, pages one and twenty-seven, contains an article entitled, "BROWDER Credits Red Gains to United States Errors". This article reflected that EARL BROWDER was in Providence, Rhode Island, to appear on "The World Around Us" program on WJAR-TV.

According to the article BROWDER, on this program, admitted there might be something in what was said about him in 1946.

He said that "he is indeed a 'revisionist' as accused but that the Russians are even greater 'revisionists' of Marxist doctrine than he. BROWDER and the Chinese Reds are the greatest 'revisionists' of all...."

According to the article BROWDER said that the Russians "by merging with rising nationalism as in China, identified themselves with the aspirations of the people. If American doesn't understand that, it will continue to have diplomatic defeats in a large part of the world."

The article further reflected that "Mr. BROWDER said of his present political position, 'I am not a Communist.....there is no classification for me in world politics. I was profoundly influenced by MARX but I don't even consider myself a Marxist'".

"Mr. BROWDER said he felt America would not accept dogma, Marxist or any other. To insist upon a rigid position has weakened and practically destroyed the Communist Party (CP), in this country he stated."

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NY 100-25693

The article also stated that BROWDER called the American Communist leadership "stupid" and he said that they had "cut themselves off from American traditions".

"The Daily Express", London, England, dated November 19, 1958, contains an article entitled, "Britain's Bitter Visitor." In this article the writer, STEPHEN CONSTANT, described his meeting with EARL BROWDER. This article stated that EARL BROWDER, in response to the question, "What do you think of KHRUSHCHEV?" replied, "He is just a Johnny-come-lately. I knew the founders of the Party, the tough old guard."

When asked about STALIN, BROWDER replied, "a very great man, a very criminal man, too. He overshadowed everyone - even my old friend MOLOTOV, whom I last met in Moscow in 1946."

On December 31, 1958, NY T-2 advised that EARL BROWDER, during the past several weeks, had had discussions with numerous Government and Party leaders in Yugoslavia.

According to this source BROWDER found the Yugoslavs flexible in their thinking and most receptive of his views though still encumbered with dogmatic concepts inherited from Moscow. This source further advised that BROWDER hoped by speaking their language^{he} had contributed something to their understanding of the United States' evolution toward socialism.

On February 26, 1959, NY T-3 furnished a throwaway which reflected that on Friday, February 20, 1959, at the Central Plaza, Second Avenue and 6th Street, at 8:00 p.m. there would be a debate between EARL BROWDER, "formerly General

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Secretary, CP, USA" and FARRELL DOBBS, "National Secretary, SWP". The subject of the debate was to be, "Does Marxist theory retain full validity for the USA?" The debate was to be held under the auspices of the Militant Labor Forum.

The CP, USA, and the Socialist Workers Party (SWP), have been designated by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

On May 14, 1957, NY T-4 advised that the Militant Labor Forum was a name used by the SWP to describe open forums it sponsors on topics of current interest.

On February 27, 1959, NY T-5 advised that at the above described debate held on February 20, 1959, EARL BROWDER took the negative and FARRELL DOBBS took the affirmative on the question, "Does Marxist theory retain full validity for the United States?"

NY T-5 advised that EARL BROWDER boasted of being a Marxist revisionist. He praised MARX as one man of the 19th century whose thoughts are and can be discussed with value down to this day. BROWDER stated that MARX never had full validity for America. According to NY T-5 BROWDER stated that MARX himself was the first to point out that America was an exception to his theory and apparently refuted the doctrine of impoverishment as a necessary resultant of capitalistic accumulations.

BROWDER said that it is only the modern followers of MARX who tried to deny the facts about America's exceptional position in the world economy and denial of facts was the last thing MARX was ever guilty of. MARX thought America

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NY 100-25693

was wonderfully developed in its capitalist sense and that its full development would bring it into his system but in the meantime he made no pretense whatever that America fitted into his theories of capitalism. However, as it developed, its characteristics took it outside the Marxist theoretical system even more and more. While America never did have a development which testifies to the validity of Marxism, it has even less such development today than ever. "It is this fact which every Marxist in the world is going to have to face."

According to NY T-5 BROWDER stated that MARX made few mistakes but when he did make them, they were whoppers. One mistake is the theory that impoverishment of the workers is the necessary resultant of capitalist accumulation. BROWDER stated that American wages became even higher and higher and were maintained over the decades through ups and downs.

IV. STATUS OF PERJURY CASE ON EARL BROWDER

On November 21, 1958, Mr. LAWRENCE McGAULEY, Assistant United States Attorney, Southern District of New York, advised SA THOMAS J. CROKE that he had been notified by the Department of Justice that the indictment outstanding against BROWDER should not be dismissed at that time.

On October 22, 1959, McGAULEY advised that the indictment against EARL BROWDER is still pending.

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NY 100-25693

V. CONTACT WITH EARL BROWDER

On September 22, 1959, EARL BROWDER was telephonically contacted by SA FRANK A. GILMAN. BROWDER was requested to make himself available for interview by Special Agents of the FBI at his convenience. He replied by stating, "As you are well aware, I am under indictment and I do not feel I should become involved in any matters with the FBI until the indictment is disposed of one way or the other."

BROWDER also stated that after the indictment is disposed of, the FBI could recontact him and he would determine at that time whether or not to agree to an interview.

VI. MISCELLANEOUS

On June 24, 1959, WILLIAM E. BROWDER, brother of the subject, was interviewed by Special Agents JOHN E. MULVIHILL and FRANK A. GILMAN.

During this interview WILLIAM BROWDER stated that it was his brother EARL'S policy and his own to be against any Communist Party member going into the Office of Strategic Services (OSS), during the war (World War II).

WILLIAM BROWDER stated that the fact that Communist Party members were going into OSS during the war became an issue between his brother EARL and EUGENE DENNIS and caused them to become bitter enemies.

Mr. BROWDER stated DENNIS had been in Moscow prior to the war and he (WILLIAM BROWDER), assumes plans were made at that time to undermine EARL'S leadership of the CP in the USA and to oust him from his leadership.

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NY 100-25693

WILLIAM BROWDER stated DENNIS was encouraging CP members to go into OSS during the war and EARL was definitely against this. WILLIAM BROWDER felt this was just one issue that was used by DENNIS and his faction in the CP to undermine EARL'S leadership.

"The Worker," March 8, 1959, page 3, identified EUGENE DENNIS as National Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The Worker" is an East Coast Communist weekly newspaper.

Some informants who are acquainted with certain aspects of the CP activity in the New York City area were contacted in October, 1959, and they advised they had no current information concerning EARL BROWDER.

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United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
New York, New York
November 11, 1959

NY 100-25693

Re: Earl Russell Browder
Security Matter-C; Perjury

Reference is made to the report of
Special Agent Thomas J. Croke, Jr., NY, dated and
captioned as above.

NY T-2 is a confidential source abroad.
All other informants mentioned have furnished
reliable information in the past.

This document contains neither recommenda-
tions nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the
property of the FBI and is a loan to your agency;
it and its contents are not to be distributed
outside your agency.

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11/27/59

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1467)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-321)
SUBJECT: WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
IS-R
(OO: NEW YORK)

ReNYairtel to the Bureau, 11/25/59.

For the information of the Bureau, EARL BROWDER, after the indictment for perjury was dismissed against him on 11/25/59, held a press conference. The "New York Times", dated 11/26/59, on page 9, carried the following information concerning this press conference.

"BROWDER said he hoped the dismissal of the indictment would end Government 'harassment of my family'. He refused to elaborate except to say he was speaking of his brother, an accountant, and his sister, who heads a department in a private hospital.

"SETS RULE FOR SILENCE"

"If the Government still continues to harass my relations," he said, "I will have more to say to the newspapers. If it ceases, I will have nothing further to say. They know what I am talking about."

4-Bureau (100-1469)(RM)
(140-3798)(EARL BROWDER)
1-New York (100-25693)(EARL BROWDER)
1-New York (100-321)

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 7/28/99 BY [REDACTED]

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NY 100-321

AUSA JOHN S. CLARK advised on 11/27/59, that he became aware of EARL BROWDER's statement after reading it in the paper. He stated he still plans to subpoena EARL BROWDER but the date has not been set.

AUSA CLARK stated the Grand Jury is still calling WILLIAM BROWDER and [REDACTED] Subject's next appearance is scheduled for 11/30/59.

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The above for the information of the Bureau and the Bureau will be advised of future developments in this matter.

11/27/59

AIRTEL

TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-353709)

FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-88714)

SUBJECT: DR. ROBERT SOBLE
ESP - R
(OO:NY)

Re NY airtel 11/20/59, in this matter and
NY airtels re subpoenaing of EARL BROWDER.

AUSA JOHN S. CLARK, SDNY, stated 11/27/59
that he had been advised by the Department of Justice
that info had been received that HANS HIRSCHFELD was
ill but that VICTOR WOERHEIDE, Departmental Representative,
would see HIRSCHFELD within next few days in an attempt to
perfect arrangements for HIRSCHFELD to come to US.

CLARK also advised that the Department had
instructed that EARL BROWDER was not to be subpoenaed
until further notice. CLARK stated that the Department felt
that any publicity re BROWDER subpoena might also result in
publicity and affect possible appearance of HIRSCHFELD.

Bureau will be advised of developments.

5-Bureau (100-353709) (RM)

(140-3798) (EARL BROWDER)

1-New York

1-New York (100-25693) (EARL BROWDER)

1-New York (100-88714)

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[redacted]

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11/25/59

AIRTEL

✓
TO: DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1469)
FROM: SAC, NEW YORK (100-321)
SUBJECT: WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
IS-R
(OO: New York)

ReNY airtel to the Bureau, 11/20/59.

AUSA JOHN E. CLARK, SDNY advised on 11/25/59,
that on this date the government filed a nolle prosequi
regarding the perjury indictment outstanding against
EARL BROWDER and the indictment is now dismissed.

The above for the information of the Bureau.

- 4 - Bureau (100-1469) (RM)
① - 40-3798 (EARL BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-25693) (EARL BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-321)

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DATE 7/28/99 BY [REDACTED]

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11/23/59

PLAIN TEXT

AIRTEL

REGISTERED MAIL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1469)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-321)

SUBJECT: WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
IS - R
(OO:NY)

ReNYairtel, 11/20/59.

AUSA JOHN S. CLARK, SDNY, advised that subject was excused by federal grand jury, SDNY, on 11/23/59 as CLARK was trying another case.

CLARK also advised that as to EARL BROWDER motion by his attorney for dismissal of the perjury indictment has been postponed. CLARK stated that Government would enter nolle prosequi on 11/25/59.

Bureau will be advised of developments.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/28/99 BY

4-Bureau (100-1469) (RM)
①-100-3798 (EARL BROWDER)
1-New York (100-25693) (EARL BROWDER)
1-New York (100-321)

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11/20/59

AIRTEL

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1469)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-321)
SUBJECT: WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
IS - R
(OO: NEW YORK)

Re NY airtel 11/17/59.

AUSA JOHN S. CLARK, SDNY, advised 11/20/59, that subject made brief appearances before FGJ, SDNY, on [redacted] and [redacted] and [redacted] CLARK confidentially advised that on [redacted]
[redacted]
[redacted]

CLARK stated that in conversation with O. JOHN ROGGE, attorney for the BROWDERS, ROGGE mentioned that [redacted] [redacted] had decided to claim [redacted] when she again appeared before FGJ.

- 5 - Bureau (100-1469) (RM)
(1 - 100-341048 - ROSE EULER BROWDER)
(1 - 40-3798 - EARL BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-62661 - ROSE EULER BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-25693 - EARL BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-321)

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DATE 7/28/99 BY [redacted]

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AIRTEL

NY 100-321

CLARK stated that since [redacted] have previously testified before FGJ [redacted] he would consider whether there is a legal basis to compel them to give testimony.

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With reference to EARL BROWDER, CLARK advised that on 11/23/59, a nolle prosequi of the outstanding indictment against EARL BROWDER would be entered. CLARK stated he plans to [redacted]

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The Bureau will be promptly advised of developments.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 12/16/59

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, aka.
SECURITY MATTER - C

Re report of SA THOMAS J. CROKE, Jr., dated 11/11/59, and NY airtel to Director, dated 11/25/59, entitled "WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER, IS-R", Bufile 100-1469.

Referenced airtel, dated 11/25/59, reflected that on 11/25/59, the government filed a nolle prosequi regarding the perjury indictment outstanding against EARL BROWDER and the indictment is now dismissed.

As the only lead outstanding in this matter was to follow the case with the USA, SDNY this case is being closed in the NYO.

2 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693)

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HARPER & BROTHERS

PUBLISHERS SINCE 1817



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 2/17/81 BY [redacted]

49 East 33rd Street, New York 10016

February 9, 1960

Mr. []
Mr. []
Mr. []
Mr. []
Mr. []
Mr. []
Mr. []
Mr. []
Mr. []
Miss Gandy

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
Department of Justice
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover,

I thought you might be interested in
seeing the piece by Carl Browder, "How Stalin
Ruined the American Communist Party", which
will appear in the March issue of Harper's
Magazine.

140-3798
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191 MAR 4 1960

Sincerely,

Stuart Harris
Publicity Director

SH/jt
enc.

12 MAR 3 1960

FEB 19 1960

1015 AVENUE
NEW YORK 17, N.Y.

TELEPHONE : MURRAY HILL 3-1900

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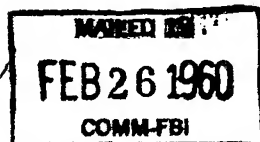
February 26, 1960

Mr. Stuart Harris
Publicity Director
Harper and Brothers
49 East 33rd Street
New York 16, New York

Dear Mr. Harris:

Your note of February 9, 1960, with enclosure,
has been received, and your thoughtfulness in furnishing me an
advance proof of the article prepared by Earl Browder for the
March issue of Harper's magazine is indeed appreciated.

Sincerely yours,
J. Edgar Hoover



NOTE: Bufiles contain no information concerning Mr. Harris which
would preclude this letter. Earl Browder is the former secretary of
the Communist Party-USA.

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FBI

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1469)

1/7/60

SAC, NEW YORK (100-321)

WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
IS - R
(OO:NY)

[REDACTED]
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-18-01 BY [REDACTED]

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ReNY airtel to Bureau, 11/30/59.

The matter of EARL BROWDER, MARGARET BROWDER,
ROSE BROWDER, nee EULER, and the subject were discussed
briefly with AUSA JOHN S. CLARK on 1/5/60, by SA FRANK
A. GILMAN.

AUSA CLARK stated that at the present time, he
is extremely busy with a trial which he expects to last
about two weeks, and could not devote any time to the
cases concerning the above-named individuals.

AUSA CLARK stated action regarding all the
BROWDERS is being held in abeyance pending efforts to
secure the appearances of HANS HIRSCHFELD before the
Federal Grand Jury, SDNY. AUSA CLARK stated after
the matter regarding HIRSCHFELD is disposed of, he will
thoroughly review the cases regarding the BROWDERS and
will, at that time, determine what action he proposes
in these matters.

- 5- Bureau (100-1469) (RM)
1- 100-287645 (MARGARET BROWDER)
1- 100-341048 (ROSE BROWDER)
1- 40-3798 (EARL BROWDER)
1-NY 100-59645 (MARGARET BROWDER)
1-NY 100-62661 (ROSE BROWDER)
1-NY 100-25693 (EARL BROWDER)
1-New York (100-321)

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AUSA CLARK stated that the Justice Department does not want any action brought by the BROWERS which might reveal that the Federal Grand Jury is hearing witnesses in this and related matters which might effect HIRSCHFELD's willingness to appear in the US.

It will be noted that on 11/5/59, MARGARET BROWER refused to see agents to be further interviewed.

The subject, throughout the month [redacted] before the Federal Grand Jury and Attorney G. JOHN ROGER stated if subject's wife, ROSE were to be called before the Federal Grand Jury, [redacted]

Due to the above circumstances, it does not appear that the above or EARL BROWER would grant interview if contacted by Bureau agents.

It is recommended that we concentrate our efforts on the subject at the present time, and that cases regarding ROSE BROWER and MARGARET BROWER be placed in a pending inactive status until AUSA CLARK makes a decision regarding all future action he will take concerning these individuals. Naturally, any information developed concerning any of the BROWERS during the investigation of the subject's case, will be followed through in the subject's file with the information being disseminated to the correct individual's file.

UACB, NYO file regarding ROSE BROWER and MARGARET BROWER, will be placed in a pending inactive status.

The NYO will continue to review files and attempt to locate individuals who might be cooperative

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NY 100-321

and have information concerning the subject and his relatives and would furnish this information to the Bureau. We will, also, at the first opportunity, discuss these cases with AUSA CLARK to determine what action he proposes, as well as to determine if he feels that prosecution would be possible under any existing statutes.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. A. H. Belmont *alt*

DATE: February 26, 1960

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12-18-01 BY [redacted]

SUBJECT: "HOW STALIN RUINED THE AMERICAN
COMMUNIST PARTY"
ARTICLE BY EARL BROWDER IN
HARPER'S MAGAZINE, MARCH, 1960
CENTRAL RESEARCH MATTER

Tolson
Moore
Parsons
Belmont
Callahan
DeLoach
Malone
McGuire
Rosen
Tamm
Trotter
W.C. Sullivan b6
Tele. Room b7C
Ingram
Gandy

Earl Browder, who was ousted as head of the Communist Party, USA, in 1945 for "revisionism," is the author of an article entitled "How Stalin Ruined the American Communist Party" appearing in the March, 1960, issue of Harper's Magazine (pp. 45-51).

Browder recalls how he became a victim of Joseph Stalin's "Cold War" policy at the end of World War II. According to Browder, Stalin needed "to keep up the sharp international tensions" in order to maintain his personal regime.

Browder states that his purge was presaged in April, 1945, in an article in a French communist journal, Cahiers du Communisme, signed by Jacques Duclos, a leading functionary of the French Communist Party. The article scathingly attacked Browder's concept of postwar collaboration of communism with capitalism in the United States as a result of Browder's interpretation of the Teheran agreement signed by President Roosevelt, Prime Minister Churchill, and Stalin. *RL*

Although Browder avers that he, like every other communist, recognized that Duclos spoke for the Kremlin, Browder claims that he was not sure then--in 1945--that Stalin was responsible. "I was being purged...but I did not know by whom. I only knew that it was someone in Moscow with sufficient power to get away with it." Browder maintains that it was only when Soviet Premier Nikita S. Khrushchev made his revelatory speech condemning Stalin at the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February, 1956, that he was certain Stalin had been the instigator.

ms RSG:nji
(9)

1 - R. S. Garner
1 - Section tickler
1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Bland
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. Parsons

REC-68

40-3778-831

18 MAR 10 1960

53 MAR 15 1960

SENTRAL RESEARCH

Memorandum to Mr. A. H. Belmont

Re: "How Stalin Ruined the American Communist Party"
Article by Earl Browder in Harper's Magazine, March, 1960

It is impossible to believe that Browder, as a knowing communist leader, was not acutely aware that Stalin--in 1945--was the undisputed dictator of the international communist movement and was the only one who could have ordered his deposition. Apparently, Browder is attempting to minimize--for public consumption--the extent of Soviet influence in the affairs of the Communist Party, USA, during his 15 years as its general secretary.

Browder contends that the Duclos article "halted and reversed" the Americanization trend he had initiated and pushed in the Communist Party, USA. With his replacement by William Z. Foster, "an ultra-left sectarian" who had "wrecked" every organization in which he had ever been active, the Party "quickly turned openly anti-American," thereby killing itself.

Although Browder is convinced that the Duclos article "condemned the American Communist party to death," he also feels that the party was "doomed to disappear" independently of Foster and his role. The reason Browder gives is that the Communist Party "shared a Socialist perspective borrowed from Europe, which could not be made to fit the reality of America." Thus, Browder writes off the Communist Party in the United States as no threat, which is in line with what some other critics of the Bureau are contending.

Browder's article makes no mention of either the Director or the FBI.

RECOMMENDATION:

For the information of the Director.

1 - Mr. Simpson

April 27, 1960

SAC, New York

Director, FBI

REC-44

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

There are enclosed two copies of a letter dated April 21, 1960, from Mr. William S. Hufts, Commissioner, Bureau of Motor Vehicles, New York City, as well as two copies of the identification record pertaining to Browder, FBI Number 286042.

Bufiles contain no identifiable information of a derogatory nature concerning Mr. Hufts. Your attention is directed to your letter dated October 19, 1959, captioned "Bureau of Motor Vehicles, New York City, Identification Matter," concerning a contact by Agents of your office with Mr. Hufts concerning name check requests made of the Identification Division of the Bureau. Arrangements were made by your office with Mr. Hufts that name check requests would be submitted direct to your office only in those instances where criminal records could not be obtained from other sources.

The Bureau is not directing a letter to Mr. Hufts concerning his request for my personal opinion concerning Browder. It is desired, however, that you have an Agent promptly contact Mr. Hufts and explain to him that the Bureau's jurisdiction and responsibilities do not extend to furnishing comments or evaluations concerning the character or integrity of any individual. It should also be explained to him that due to the confidential nature of our files as prescribed by a regulation of the Department of Justice, I am precluded from furnishing any information concerning Browder. It should be pointed out, however, that Browder is the former general secretary of the Communist Party, USA, and that considerable public source information is available concerning Browder. At the time of this contact with Mr. Hufts, the Agent may furnish him a copy of the enclosed identification record pertaining to Browder.

The above contact with Mr. Hufts should be handled as promptly as possible and the Bureau advised of the results of this contact.

Enclosures (4)

RDS:pw (4)

SEE NOTE ON YELLOW, PAGE TWO

MAY 5 1960 TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/91 BY #

b6
b7C

Tolson _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Belmont _____
Callahan _____
DeLoach _____
Malone _____
McGuire _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Trotter _____
W.C. Sullivan _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

Letter to New York
RE: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Browder has made application for a driving license in New York City and Hults has advised because of Browder's record he would appreciate "an expression of your views on the subject." We, of course, cannot furnish any information from our files concerning Browder and it is not believed advisable for the Director to express any personal opinion concerning Browder and whether he should or should not be issued a driving license in New York City. In view of the past contact with Mr. Hults and the fact that his office has been extremely cooperative with the New York Office in furnishing information concerning automobile registration and driving license information, particularly in connection with surveillances in New York, it is believed this matter should be handled by an Agent rather than a communication from the Bureau. Hults refers to Browder residing at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York. According to Bufiles, this is the residence of Browder, the former general secretary of the Communist Party, USA.



STATE OF NEW YORK
DEPARTMENT OF TAXATION AND FINANCE
BUREAU OF MOTOR VEHICLES
155 WORTH STREET
NEW YORK 13

WILLIAM S. HULTS
COMMISSIONER

Mr. Tolson ✓
Mr. Mohr ✓
Mr. Parsons ✓
Mr. Belmont ✓
Mr. Callahan ✓
Mr. DeLoach ✓
Mr. Malone ✓
Mr. McGuire ✓
Mr. Rosen ✓
Mr. Tamm ✓
Mr. Trotter ✓
Mr. W.C. Sullivan ✓
Tele. Room ✓
Mr. Ingram ✓
Miss Gandy ✓

b6
b7c

April 21, 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-18-01 BY [redacted]

Hon. J. Edgar Hoover
Director
Federal Bureau of Investigation
U. S. Department of Justice
Washington 25, D. C.

Dear Mr. Hoover:

Mr. Earl R. Browder, 7 Highland Place,
Yonkers, New York has made application to this
Bureau for a driving license.

Because of his record, I would appreciate
it if you would give me personally an expression
of your views on the subject.

Sincerely yours,

William S. Hults
Commissioner

WSH/fa

7-131

REC-44

5 APR 29 1960

40-3798-832
5/12

Letter to NY w/pencs
4-27-60
RDS/pw

ENCLOSURE
(Criminal Record)

EXP. PROC

APR 22 1960

Handwritten notes:
21
End
21

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

4-25-50 T T

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 286 042, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
United States Penitentiary Leavenworth, Kansas	Earl R. Browder #14314	July 14 1919	conspiracy	two years Paroled November 5, 1920
Police Department Detroit, Michigan	Earl Browder #38680	May 26 1930	fugitive from justice	discharged on writ
Police Department Terre Haute, Indiana	Earl Browder #8768	September 30, 1936	vagrancy - investigation	released October 1,
Federal Detention Headquarters New York, New York	Earl Russell Browder, #28433	October 23, 1939	use of passport obtained by false statement	October 24, 1939 discharged on bail
United States Marshal New York, New York	Earl R. Browder #C25-24	October 23, 1939	charge not given	
Federal Detention Headquarters New York, New York	Earl Russell Browder, #32002	March 25 1941	use of passport obtained under false statements	4 years - 3-26-41 tr to USP Atlanta
United States Penitentiary Atlanta, Georgia	Earl Russell Browder, #60140	March 27 1941	unlawful use of passport obtained by false statement	4 years. commutation of sentence May 16, 1942
DC Jail Washington DC	Earl Russell Browder #87266	December 1, 1950	T2 Sec, 192 U.S. Code (US)	no bond issued Criminal Court; 12-7-50; rel on bond
United States Marshal Washington, D.C.	Earl Russell Browder #1784-50	November 29, 1950	Section 192 22 United States Code	March 14, 1951, acquitted.
United States Marshal New York, New York	Earl Browder #C-1471-52	September 30, 1952	perjury	pending
Federal Detention Headquarters, New York, New York	Earl Browder #64333	September 30, 1952	False statement Immigration Naturalization	

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-01 BY [redacted]

16-70582-4 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE b6

b7C

40-3798-832

ENCLOSURE.

4-25-60

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER 286 042 , is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

16-70582-4 U. S. GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

4-25-50 T T

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

1-BU

The following FBI record, NUMBER 286 042, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	Refer two copies of record on all inquiries re Earl Russell Browder, was, George Morris, Nicholas Dozenberg, Albert Harry Richards, Irl Browder, Joseph War, Joseph Dixon, Albert Underwood, Earl Russell, Earl Wingate, Earl W. Ringrose, to BFD, NY, NY, their file #100-25693, per inf rec therefrom 3-15-51, (ident #28433).			
BFD NY NY	Earl Russell Browder NY File #100-25693	9-30-52	perjury Title 18 Sec 1015 (a)	Turned over to USM
THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI				

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
INFORMATION CONCERNING
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

b7C
SIT

DATE: 5/3/60

ReBulet 4/27/60.

Mr. WILLIAM S. HULTS, Commissioner, Bureau of Motor Vehicles, New York State, was contacted on 5/2/60.

The contents of reBulet were discussed with Commissioner HULTS and he stated he understands the Bureau's position regarding the expressing of opinions concerning individuals. Commissioner HULTS appreciates receiving the arrest record of EARL R. BROWDER.

Commissioner HULTS was reminded of a previous agreement whereby name check requests would be submitted to the NYO where the record could not be obtained from other sources. Commissioner HULTS stated that he will adhere to this agreement in the future.

- ② - Bureau
1 - New York (32-0)
1 - New York (100-25693)

EAF:hr
(4)

EX-132

REC-13

40-3798-833
4 MAY 4 19607209
53 MAY 11 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/99 BY [redacted]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memo

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 9/29/60

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
SM - C
(OO:NY)

On 9/28/60, JOHN MC KEON, INS, NYC, advised SA JOHN J. HAYES that he had received a telephone call from his Montreal office that one JOHN MURPHY, born 12/9/88, at Manchester, England, was granted a 212D3 Waiver of Admission and was entering the US on 9/28/60. *NY*

According to MC KEON, MURPHY left Canada on American Airlines Flight 424 from Montreal and was to arrive at Idlewild Airport, NYC, at 3:00 PM, 9/28/60. MURPHY was to visit EARL BROWDER. His departure date was to be 10/12/60.

MC KEON explained that a person getting a 212D3 Waiver would not ordinarily be admitted to the US.

The foregoing is submitted for information.

Copy to Ottawa
by routing slip for
☒ info ☐ action
date 10-6-60
by [Signature]

-P-
2 - Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1 - New York (100-25693)

JWD:mxg
(3)

REC-98

40-3798-834

4 SEP 30 1960

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/99 BY [Signature]

SUBV. CONTROL

53 OCT 7 1960

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Best Copy Available

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1469)

11/16/60

SAC, NEW YORK (100-321)

WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
ESP-R

Re Bureau letter to NY, 9/30/60.

The matter of EARL BROWDER, MARGARET BROWDER, ROSE BROWDER, nee Euler, and the captioned were discussed with AUSA RICHARD CASEY on 11/3/60, by SAs EDWARD F. MC CARTHY and FRANK A. GILMAN.

For the Bureau's information, these cases have been assigned to AUSA CASEY in the USA's Office a relatively short time and he is not altogether familiar with them.

AUSA CASEY stated that he desired to subpoena each of the above mentioned individuals at least one more time in an effort to get them to reveal what information they might have. He stated his plans were to issue subpoenas for the above individuals during the latter part of November, 1960, the exact date unknown.

The Bureau will be kept advised of future developments in this matter and an effort will be made to bring this and related cases to a conclusion in the near future.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-18-01 BY [redacted]

- ⑤ - Bureau (100-1469) (RM)
1 - (100-287645) (MARGARET BROWDER)
1 - (100-341048) (ROSE BROWDER)
① - (40-3798) (EARL BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-59645) (MARGARET BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-12661) (ROSE BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-25693) (EARL BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-321)

FSG:mgn
(9)

NOT RECORDED
98 NOV 17 1960

62 NOV 25 1960

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Reporting Office NEW YORK	Office of Origin NEW YORK	Date JUN 11 1964	Investigative Period 10/4-11/8/60
TITLE OF CASE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER aka [REDACTED]		Report made by JAMES E. GORDON	Typed By: nbc
		CHARACTER OF CASE [REDACTED]	
5/19/89 CLASSIFIED BY DECLASS. AUTHORITY #406077-001		SM-C CC TO: REQ. REC'D 12/18/63 JAN 10 1964 ANS. BY: [REDACTED]	[REDACTED] [REDACTED]

Report of SA THOMAS J. CROKE, Jr., dated 11/11/59, at

It is to be noted that the subject appeared before the Grand Jury in the SDNY [REDACTED]

On 11/3/60, AUSA RICHARD A. CASEY, SDNY, advised SAS FRANK A. GILMAN and EDWARD F. MC CARTHY that he still planned to issue a subpoena for the subject to appear before a Grand Jury but he was unable to give a specific date on which the subpoena would be issued.

Approved	Special Agent In Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made:	<i>7d</i>	40-3798-835	REC-88
4-Bureau (40-3798) (RM)		5 NOV 30 1990	EX-108
1-USA, SDNY (RM)			
1-INS, NYC (RM)			
3-New York (100-25693)			
[Redacted]		[Redacted]	
AGENCY	AGENCY	[Redacted]	
REQ. REC'D	REQ. REC'D	[Redacted]	
DATE FORW.	DATE FORW.	[Redacted]	
HOW FORW.	HOW FORW.	[Redacted]	
BY	BY	[Redacted]	

NY 100-25693

It is to be noted that a disposition sheet has been sent to the Identification Division reflecting the dismissal of the indictment, which was issued in 1952 charging the subject with perjury. It is to be noted that [redacted]

b7D

[redacted] was contacted on 10/4 and 18/60, for the purpose of requesting his assistance in ascertaining any activities of the subject. [redacted] advised that he had very little contact with the subject and that the subject was reluctant to talk to anyone. [redacted] stated that the subject merely said hello as he saw and would not be engaged in conversation. [redacted] advised that the subject appeared to live very quietly and he had noted nothing that would indicate any employment on the part of the subject. Further, he advised that he had no information concerning individuals who might visit the subject, but he believed that visits by anyone outside of the family were very few.

(S) (U)
On 10/14/59, [redacted] advised that a meeting of the State Committee of the CP of Illinois, was held on 10/11/59. During the course of this meeting CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT, National Vice Chairman of the CP was discussing the question of socialism. LIGHTFOOT stated that the Socialist Party is flexing its muscles and has good mass contacts. As an example he stated that the leadership of the Youth March on Washington was in the hands of the Socialist Party. He stated that recently in NY, JOHN GATES, EARL BROWDER and others have had a conference with NORMAN THOMAS, and in view of this, he felt that there is a chance that with this leadership experience, the Socialist Party would be able to compete with the CP.

b7D

[redacted] advised on 4/20/60, that a meeting of the enlarged Staff of the Illinois CP was held on 4/18/60. During the course of the meeting the Socialist Workers Party, Socialism and the Socialist Party-Social Democratic Federation (SP-SDF) were discussed. CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT again spoke at this meeting and stated that he believed that the SP-SDF has picked up a certain "brain trust" or corps of expert advisors. He believed that JOHN GATES was connected with this leadership and he named EARL BROWDER as another of this group of expert advisors.

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NY 100-25693

The above statements of CLAUDE LIGHTFOOT were not set out in the details of the report since the informants had not obtained information concerning the basis of the statements made by LIGHTFOOT. It is also to be noted that the Socialist Party is not an organization which has been cited by the Attorney General.

INFORMANTS

Identity of Source

File # Where Located

NY T-1

Instant report

(By Request)

NY T-2

Informants who were contacted in October, 1959, and who were unable to furnish current information concerning the subject are identified as follows:

Informant

Date Contacted

Contacting Agent

10/14/60
10/11/60
10/11/60
10/11/60
10/10/60
10/10/60
10/19/60
10/18/60
10/11/60
10/11/60

SA JOHN A. HAAG
SA JOHN A. HAAG
SA JOHN A. HAAG
SA JOHN A. HAAG
SA ROGER O'MARA
SA ROGER O'MARA
SA ROGER O'MARA
SA ROGER O'MARA
SA WILLIAM A. FLYNN, JR.
SA WILLIAM A. FLYNN, JR.

NY 100-25693

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☒ Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.
7. ☒ This report is classified confidential because (state reason) information reported from NY T-2 which could reasonably result in the identification of the informant. This informant is of continuing value and if his identity were revealed, it would compromise his future effectiveness and have a detrimental effect on national security.
8. ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) he declined to make an interview when contacted on 9/22/59, and because of his negative attitude when he appeared before the Grand Jury in November, 1959.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
10. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) although the subject's current activities as such do not warrant his retention on the SI, it is to be noted that he has had knowledge of and assisted in espionage activities in connection with his post in the CP in the past and due to his long history of association with the CP in a leadership capacity, it is recommended that he be retained on the SI. (Report of SA JAMES E. HANLON, NY, dated 12/31/56).
11. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☒ is not tabbed Detcom.
☒ Subject's activities ☐ do ☒ do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

- D* -
COVER PAGE

~~SECRET~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONCopy to: 1-USA, SDNY
1-INS, NYC~~CONFIDENTIAL~~Report of: JAMES E. GORDON
Date: *11/19/60*

Office: New York, New York

b6
b7C

Field Office File No.: 100-25693

Bureau File No.: 40-3798

Title: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

Character: SECURITY MATTER - ~~C~~ (U)

Synopsis:

EARL BROWDER resided 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, and was unemployed as of 11/8/60. Subject indicted 9/30/52, by FGJ for perjury, violation of Title 18, Section 1015, (a) USC, based on a false statement made under oath on 10/14/49. USA, SDNY, filed nolle prosequi on 11/25/59, and indictment was dismissed. Subject wrote article for "Harper's" Magazine, March, 1960, issue in which he sets forth that he believed STALIN had directed BROWDER's expulsion from the CP, USA and that it was his belief that Communism in USA was doomed to disappear. He further stated that he believed that the New World would find a road to Socialism not dreamed of by MARX or any of the Prophets of Socialism. GUS HALL, General Secretary, of CP, USA, reported to have said in May, 1960, BROWDER had called a meeting of right wing revisionists and at meeting BROWDER stated that they should forget the idea of developing a good Marxist-Leninist movement in the US. Informants, NY area, have no information concerning the subject.

- ~~C~~ (U)~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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NY 100-25693

DETAILS:

A. Residence and Employment

NY T-1 advised on November 8, 1960, that EARL BROWDER resided at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York. NY T-1 advised that the subject was unemployed. The informant stated that it was possible that BROWDER did some writing in his apartment.

B. Status of Legal Process Against Subject

On September 30, 1952, a sealed indictment was returned by the Federal Grand Jury in the Southern District of New York, charging BROWDER with violation of Title 18, Section 1015 (a). He was charged with perjury based on a false statement made under oath on October 14, 1949. 7-11-52

Assistant United States Attorney JOHN S. CLARK, Southern District of New York, advised on November 25, 1959, that on that date the government had filed a nolle prosequi regarding the perjury indictment which had been outstanding against BROWDER and that the indictment was dismissed.

C. Subject's Attitude Toward Communist Party (CP)

An article appeared in the "New York Times" of November 26, 1959, page 9, headed, "US Drops Charge Against Browder". This article set out information concerning the fact that the indictment which had been pending against BROWDER had been dismissed in Federal Court. The article set out information concerning an interview BROWDER held with reporters after the hearing concerning the indictment was concluded. It was reported that, asked about his present feelings toward the CP in the United States, BROWDER said "Its long been politically dead. There is no hope of it ever being revived. It cut its roots in America on the whole Socialist tradition borrowed from Europe, but it never fit the realities of America". Later in the same interview,

NY 100-25693

BROWDER reported to have said, "I have had no contact with anyone on good terms with the Communist Party".

An article appeared in the "New York Herald Tribune" issue of February 23, 1960, on page 6, which was headed, "Browder Attacks Stalin After 15 Years of Silence". This article reported on an article written by EARL BROWDER which appeared in the "Harper's" Magazine, issue of March, 1960. The article set out that BROWDER had charged that JOSEPH V. STALIN launched the East-West Cold War in 1945 to save his "personal dictatorship". BROWDER further stated in his magazine article that the development of "sharp international tensions" between the Democratic powers and Communism was the only ruse by which the Soviet Union's dictator could hold on to power. BROWDER charged that the signal for the Cold War's opening was his own purging from the CP. He explained that his political head had to fall because he had been preaching the desirability of Russo-American co-existence. BROWDER charged that in order to camouflage the Soviet hand in his expulsion, JACQUES DECLOS, the number 2 French Communist in the post war years, was instructed to attack the American Communist leader in the publication "Cahieres (Notebooks) du Communisme". It was stated that BROWDER concluded that the CP in the United States was doomed to disappear from "the larger framework of history", even if STALIN had not ^{ordered} ~~beared~~, in effect, its murder. He was quoted as saying "the New World was really a new world socially and economically - destined to find a road to Socialism not dreamed of by Marx or any of the prophets of Socialism, whether utopian or scientific".

NY T-2 advised on May 13, 1960, that GUS HALL, General Secretary of the CP, USA had said that in the recent past a meeting was called by EARL BROWDER. HALL stated that BROWDER had sent invitations to many of the so-called right-wing revisionists crowd, all of whom reportedly attended this meeting.

NY 100-25693

According to HALL, BROWDER told the gathering that they should forget the idea of ever developing a good Marxist-Leninist movement in the United States and that they should openly wear their tag of "Revisionist". He said if they dream of democracy they should not look for it in the Soviet type of Marxism. BROWDER was supposed to have said that Marxism as a philosophy in the United States is passe and any movement to bring Marxism into being in the United States will only result in repression.

According to HALL, many of the revisionists left in the middle of the meeting in disgust with BROWDER's remarks.

"The Worker" issue of May 1, 1960, page 2 identified GUS HALL as General Secretary of the CP, USA.

"The Worker" is an east coast Communist newspaper.

The CP, USA has been cited by the Attorney General of the United States pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

D. Miscellaneous

Informants who are acquainted with certain aspects of the CP activity in the New York City area were contacted in October, 1960, and advised that they had no current information concerning EARL BROWDER.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
November 25, 1960

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

Bureau 40-3798
NY 100-25693

Title Earl Russell Browder

Character Security Matter - C

Reference Report of Special Agent James
E. Gordon, dated and captioned as above, at New York

All sources (except any listed below) used in referenced
communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

New York T-1 is characterized as being in a position
to furnish reliable information.

AGENCY

REQ. REC'D

DATE FORW.

HOW FORW.

BY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/19/00 BY

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This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property
of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside
your agency.

ENCLOSURE

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
 Parsons _____
 Mohr _____
 Belmont _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 W.C. Sullivan _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

TO : Mr. J. F. Bland *JB*

DATE:

February 20, 1961

FROM : Mr. T. D. Rushing *TR*SUBJECT: *O*
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

The case on the above-captioned individual has been reviewed by the Department and the subject's name approved for inclusion in the Security Index.

The memorandum showing departmental approval dated February 6, 1961, is located in Bureau file 100-398030 Serial 2825.

TDR:baw *baw*

40-3798

40-3798-
NOT RECORDED

9 FEB 24 1961

5-TR

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/18/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7c*51 FEB 27 1961*

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Ingram _____
 Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Mohr

DATE: August 16, 1961

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

SUBJECT: JAY SOURWINE

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 6-1-84 BY [redacted]

Jay Sourwine of the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee Staff telephonically contacted my office on Wednesday, 8-16-61, and in my absence spoke with SA Hanning. Sourwine stated that his Subcommittee had received an unsolicited letter and he was passing the information on to us for what it was worth.

The letter was from one Thomas Hoar, [redacted] Yonkers, New York. This individual is a mail carrier and in his letter he was just advising the Subcommittee that Earl Browder is receiving mail from Martin Luther King and another individual by the name of Browder at the University of California.

RECOMMENDATION:

That this memorandum be referred to the Domestic Intelligence Division for their information and any action deemed necessary.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
 1 - Domestic Intelligence Division

DGH:jcs
 (4)

63 AUG 29 1961
 XEROX
 AUG 24 1961

9 AUG 23 1961

CRIME RECORDS

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 62-81217-1

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT
M E M O R A N D U M

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1469)

Date: 3/17/61

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-321)

SUBJECT: WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
ESP - R
(OO: NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/18/01 BY [redacted]

On 3/16/61, AUSA RICHARD CASEY, advised as follows:

EARL and ROSE BROWDER appeared before the Federal
Grand Jury and [redacted]

WILLIAM BROWDER was subpoenaed to appear before
the Federal Grand Jury on [redacted] but ROSE BROWDER presented
the following letter to AUSA CASEY concerning WILLIAM
BROWDER's present physical condition. AUSA CASEY will
confer with Dr. KISSIN regarding the physical condition
of the subject and determine if he can be interrogated
before the Federal Grand Jury.

- 7 - Bureau (100-1469) (RM)
 (1 - 100-341048) (ROSE BROWDER)
 (1 - 40-3798) (EARL BROWDER)
 (1 - [redacted]) (PHILIP WILLIAM RUSS)
 (1 - 100-405511) (RUTH RUSS)
 (1 - 100-287645) (MARGARET BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-62661) (ROSE BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-25693) (EARL BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-70386) (PHILIP WILLIAM RUSS)
1 - New York (100-75504) (RUTH RUSS)
1 - New York (100-59645) (MARGARET BROWDER)
1 - New York (100-321)

FAG:vm
(13)

140-3798 -
NOT RECORDED
201 MAR 21 1961

53 MAR 29 1961

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-1469-152

NY 100-321

"Milton Kissin, M.D.
2 East 76th St.
NY 21, NY
RE 7-3903

"3/16/61

"To whom it may concern:

"Mr. William Browder has essential hypertension for which he is under treatment with reserpine and hydrochlorathiazide. His blood pressure on 10/12 was 184/120. On January of 1960 he was hospitalized for severe hemoptysis, the cause of which was never established. He also has psoriasis and has had bouts of giant hives.

"He is extremely unstable emotionally, due I believe, to cerebral arterial sclerosis and ethanol. He has been taking methaminadiazepoxide hydrochloride (librium).

"Under these circumstances I don't think he should be subjected to further emotional stress."

[redacted] and [redacted] also appeared before the
Federal Grand Jury on [redacted]

b3

When available the testimony of the above individuals will be reviewed and the Bureau will be advised of any pertinent information, and at the same time AUSA CASEY will be requested to make a determination on further action regarding the above named individuals.

NY 100-321

On 3/15/61, Mrs. TUFFIAS, Personnel Department, Montefiore Hospital, Bronx, NY, advised that MARGARET BROWDER died in the above hospital on 3/7/61. She had no details concerning MARGARET BROWDER's death. The death will be verified and the Bureau will be advised.

INFORMATION REGARDING THE ABOVE INDIVIDUALS' APPEARANCE BEFORE THE FEDERAL GRAND JURY IS NOT TO BE MADE PART OF A REPORT, NOR IS IT TO BE DISSEMINATED.

Best Copy Available - Mr. Higgins
1 - Mr. Jones

SAC, New York (100-25693)

October 26, 1961

Director, FBI (40-3798)

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C

Subject's Security Index card shows that he is tabbed for Detcom. Your report of 11-25-60 on page D states that subject's Security Index card is not tabbed for Detcom and that his activities do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

mz
Necessary action should be taken to correct any discrepancy noted above. If changes are necessary on Security Index card, you should submit FD-122.

HPH:baw
(5)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Ingram _____
Gandy _____

REC-72

40-3798-837
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3/6/99 BY

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b6
b7c

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Reporting Office NEW YORK	Office of Origin NEW YORK	Date <i>posted per</i> 11/24/61	Investigative Period 9/22/61 - 11/14/61
TITLE OF CASE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER aka		Report made by JAMES E. GORDON	Typed By: nbc
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM - C	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA JAMES E. GORDON dated 11/25/60, at NY.

ADMINISTRATIVE

On 3/16/61, AUSA RICHARD CASEY, SDNY, advised that the subject had appeared before a Federal Grand Jury

The subject's appearance was in connection with an investigation of the activities of his brother, WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER, Bufile 100-1469. This case has been closed and there are no plans on the part of the USA to recall the subject.

Approved <i>[Signature]</i>	Special Agent in Charge	Do not write in spaces below	
Copies made:		40-3790-838	REC-14
4 - Bureau (40-3798)		17 NOV 20 1961	EX-105
1 - INS, NYC			
3 - New York (100-25693)			

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE **5/24/99** BY **[Redacted]**

12 copy copy to
AGENCY **[Redacted]**
REQ. REC'D
DATE FORW. **10/3/62**
HOW FORW.
BY **[Redacted]**

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1469)

7/10/62

SAC, NEW YORK (100-321) - P-

WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER
ESP-R

Re Bulet 7/9/62.

On 7/9/62 MR. J. BRONSON POWER, rental agent, [redacted] NYC advised subject and wife ROSE continue to reside at the above address. MR POWERS stated subject is in very poor physical condition and stated his weight is about 100 pounds. He stated that he sees him once a day when he goes out for a walk and subjects condition is so poor that he has to hold on to the building to steady himself.

A review of EARL RUSSEL BROWDER file (Bu file # 40-3798, NY file # 100-25693) reflects EARL BROWDER married RAISSA BERIDMAN 9/15/26 at Moscow, USSR. This file also reflects the following children.

[redacted]
Moscow
Moscow
NYC

The above information is reflected in summary report of SA JAMES E. HANLON dated 12/31/56 at NY captioned EARL RUSSELL BROWDER was SM-C Perjury.

On 7/9/62 [redacted] (protect) [redacted]

[redacted] Yonkers advised DANIEL H. LUCKING that EARL BROWDER has been visited by all three of his married sons this summer. [redacted] stated that [redacted] recently visited with his wife and small daughter. He stated he did not know the name of WILLIAM's wife or daughter. [redacted] stated, that one son teaches or taught at MIT, possibly [redacted] another teaches at Yale or Harvard and the other is employed out of state.

- ③ - Bureau (100-1469) (40-3798) (RM)
2 - WFO
2 - New York (100-321) (1- 100-25693)

JCB:mr
(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7/14/99 BY [redacted]

NOT RECORDED
98 JUL 11 1962

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ORIGINAL FILED IN

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NY 100-25693

<u>Informant</u>	<u>Date Contacted</u>	<u>Contacting Agent</u>	
<div></div> <div></div>	9/26/61	SA JOHN A. HAAG	b7D
	9/26/61	SA JOHN A. HAAG	
	9/26/61	SA JOHN A. HAAG	
	9/28/61	SA JOHN A. HAAG	
	10/3/61	SA DAVID RYAN	
	10/3/61	SA DAVID RYAN	b7D
	9/29/61	SA ROGER O'MARA	
	10/5/61	SA ROGER O'MARA	
	10/5/61	SA ROGER O'MARA	
	10/5/61	SA ROGER O'MARA	
	10/6/61	SA ROGER O'MARA	
	10/6/61	SA ROGER O'MARA	
10/12/61	SA ALEXANDER C. BURLINSON		

- ~~C~~ (U)
COVER PAGE

NY 100-25693

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☒ Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.
7. ☒ This report is classified ~~confidential~~ because (state reason) _____ information is set out from NY T-2 and NY T-3. These informants are of continuing value and if their identities were revealed, it would compromise their future effectiveness and would have a detrimental affect on national security.
8. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____.
☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) _____ he declined to make an appointment for interview when contacted on 9/22/59, and because of his negative attitude when he appeared before the Federal Grand Jury March, 1961. It is also noted that the subject has been giving lectures. If he were to discuss attempts of FBI to contact him, possibilities of embarrassment to the Bureau would outweigh any advantage of having contacted him.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
10. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) _____ while the current activities of the subject do not warrant his retention on SI, he has had knowledge of and assisted in espionage in the past when he held a high office in the CP and because of his long history of activity in the CP in a leadership capacity. Because of this, it is recommended that he be retained on the SI. (Report of SA JAMES E. HANLON, NY, dated 12/31/56).
11. ☒ Subject's SI card ☒ is ☐ is not tabbed Detcom.
☒ Subject's activities ☒ do ☐ do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

- D* -
COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATIONC O N F I D E N T I A L

Copy to: 1 - INS, NYC LHM

Report of: JAMES E. GORDON
Date: 11/24/61

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File No.: 100-25693

Bureau File No.: 46-
~~140~~-3798Title:
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis:

Subject resided at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, and was unemployed as of 11/8/61. Subject lectured at Boston, Mass., on 12/18/60 on topic "Can Communism Exist Independent of Russia?". In lecture he stated he is a Socialist and not a Communist and he believed that eventually Socialism will rule the world. Subject also spoke in Los Angeles, Calif., on 8/18/61 on "Socialism" and on 8/19/61, took part in debate on topic "Reform or Revolution". Subject received \$25 for appearance at debate. Informants have no information concerning activities of subject.

- ~~C~~ (U)DETAILS:I. BACKGROUNDA. Residence and Employment

NY T-1 advised on November 8, 1961, that the subject continued to reside at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, and was unemployed.

II. SUBJECT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)A. Views Expressed in LecturesDECLASSIFIED BY
CN 5/24/99C O N F I D E N T I A Lb6
b7c

Date December 27, 1960

On December 18, 1960, Special Agents KENNETH P. WEST and JOHN B. DAVIDSON were present at a meeting when EARL BROWDER spoke at the Ford Hall Forum held at Jordan Hall in the New England Conservatory of Music, 30 Gainsboro Street, Boston, Massachusetts.

The Forum was convened at 8 P.M. by Judge REUBEN L. LURIE, President of the Ford Hall Forum. Judge LURIE, acting as moderator, introduced EARL BROWDER and announced that he would speak on the subject, "Can Communism Exist Independent of Russia?" Judge LURIE further stated that due to illness, Dr. JOHN P. ROCHE of Brandeis University, who was scheduled to speak along with EARL BROWDER, would not be there.

BROWDER then in speaking before the audience made the following comments:

Yugoslavian communism exists in spite of Moscow and is a decisive example of independent communism.

The communists had shallow roots in the United States which were torn out in 1945 by STALIN.

China is also seeking independence from Moscow and is another example of communism existing independently of Russia.

The "New York Times" of December 7, 1960, carried the story of the new Communist Manifesto, which was the culmination of eighty-one communist countries convening in Russia. The new Manifesto displayed the strength of China and showed that the Russians are returning to the Stalin Line due to pressure from the Chinese. The new Manifesto guarantees that ideological progress will be uncompromising on the part of the Russian bloc.

The Yugoslavians were denounced as renegades by the new Manifesto. The Yugoslav communists, however, are our indispensable ally. They are at opposite poles to the Chinese communists. The Yugoslavians advocate peace but the Chinese communists do not.

The Chinese say that war will result in the destruction of capitalism and a victory for socialism.

On 12/18/60 at Boston, Massachusetts File # BS 100-2608
by SA KENNETH P. WEST and
SA JOHN B. DAVIDSON/cm Date dictated 12/22/60

BS 100-2608

The new Manifesto says that any war engaged in by the socialists is a "just war" but any war by the western countries is "aggression." The Yugoslavs, however, say that responsibility lies on both sides.

Moscow has now moved over to the Chinese side, adopting its central points and eliminating its crudities.

As a result of the Manifesto, the question now is not, "Can Communism exist independently of Russia?" but, "Can Moscow exist independently of Peking?" Moscow is now no longer the sole source of communistic ideas.

BROWDER spoke about a book and quoted from it entitled, "Socialism and War," to be published or just published in Belgrade, Yugoslavia, and written by EDWARD CARDERE (ph), Vice President of Yugoslavia.

The book is an authoritative analysis of the difference between the Yugoslav brand of communism and the Chinese brand.

Peking feels that war is inevitable and is the only way to complete success for the communists, whereas the Yugoslavs feel that co-existence is the proper approach.

This is the first time in the history of communism that Russia has taken the part of the one being guided, rather than the country who did the guiding.

If there is to be any relaxation in tensions it will not be because of the Moscow Manifesto but in spite of it.

During the question and answer period in which the audience participated, BROWDER said the Manifesto goes contrary to the KHRUSHCHEV Line. Stories coming out of Russia relate that the Army schools are accepting TROTSKY as part of their tradition, that is, total revolution.

In his opinion the Chinese may become a greater power than Russia but not within the next one hundred years.

He favors the admission of Red China into the United Nations because otherwise they are isolated and must rely on Russia. He also blamed the fall of China to communism, on the policy of the United States in backing CHIANG KAI SHEK.

BS 100-2608

He does not want to be ruled by the Russians, and in turn does not want his country to try to rule the world.

He believes we are not in for an era of revolutions but rather for one of gradualisms.

Everybody is losing the cold war, including the United States and Russia. The present kind of co-existence is better than none at all. In the new Manifesto, however, there is a step backward.

He admires TITO and thinks the Yugoslav kind of communism is a very reasonable kind. He said the Yugoslavs contend that the capitalists in Yugoslavia sold out to HITLER and, accordingly, the Yugoslavians do not feel they should now restore their country to the capitalists.

The Yugoslavian economy is being run the only way it can be run. Their economy is being run better than that of the United States under EISENHOWER.

Even the EISENHOWER Administration has agreed with TITO in that they do not want to see the TITO regime overthrown. He writes for the TITO press but is not published in China or Russia. He hopes the American Government will come as close to TITO as he is.

He does not still call himself a communist and has been trying to make the people in America forget his past. He is a socialist, however, and he believes that eventually socialism will rule the world.

He has not been in the Communist Party for fifteen years and has been denounced by the members of the Party. He has been trying to disassociate himself from the communists. However, in the eye of the American people he is called, "That Communist," and in Russia is called, "That Eisenhower Agent."

NY 100-25693

NY T-2 advised on August 23, 1961, that on August 18, 1961, he had attended an affair held at Severance Hall, 2936 West 8th Street, Los Angeles, California. Mr. WILLIAM BRIGGS, of the Socialist Party made a few opening remarks at this affair and then introduced Mr. EARL BROWDER, former General Secretary of the CP, USA.

BROWDER discussed Socialism. He stated that many of the changes which had taken place in the United States were actually a large part of the program of the Socialist Party. He pointed out that he did not believe that there is a need for a bloody revolution, as was advocated by the Communists of STALIN's era, but indicated that he believed that the people will ultimately recognize Socialism and will accept it. He believed that when Socialism takes control, it will be because the majority of the people want it to, not because of the direct action of the Socialist Party.

NY 100-25693

BROWDER made the statement that he had joined the Socialist Party in 1907 and that up until the 1930's, the Socialist Party had been a scattered effort program, with many segments which had little unity. He stated that he left the Socialist Party in 1925 to join the CP.

BROWDER also discussed Yugoslavia and described what is going on in that country as a new kind of Communism.

NY T-2 advised on August 23, 1961, that on August 19, 1961, he had attended a debate between EARL BROWDER and Mr. THEODORE EDWARDS, Southern California Chairman of the Socialist Workers Party. The debate was held in the Park Manor Hall located at 607 South Western Avenue, Los Angeles, California. The topic of the debate was "Reform or Revolution".

EARL BROWDER spoke on his beliefs on "Reform". NY T-2 stated that BROWDER made remarks such as: "Revolution is impractical"; "In order to have a 'revolution' a country must be ripe for it. It must be led largely by the working classes. The people (working classes) in the 1930's did not want a revolution"; "I would back a Socialistic revolution, if it had any controlled direction, but the working class in the United States will not accept this".

NY T-3 advised on August 25, 1961, that on August 21, 1961, he had attended a regular Executive Committee meeting of the Socialist Workers Party held in Los Angeles, California.

The informant stated that it was reported at this meeting that 159 people had attended the BROWDER-EDWARDS debate and that money was lost upon the debate. It was reported that \$25 was paid to BROWDER for appearing at the debate.

NY 100-25693

B. Miscellaneous

Informants who are acquainted with certain aspects of CP activity in the New York area were contacted in September and October, 1961, and advised that they had no information concerning activities on the part of EARL BROWDER.

NY 100-25693

APPENDIX

SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

The Socialist Workers Party has been designated
by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

- 6* -

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York

November 24, 1961

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

Bufile 40-3798
New York 100-25693

Title Earl Russell Browder

Character Security Matter - ~~C~~ (U)

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent James E. Gordon, dated and captioned as above at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) used in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

New York T-1 who was in a position to furnish reliable information.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI

DATE: March 19, 1962

FROM : Legat, Ottawa [redacted] (P)

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b7E

SUBJECT: EARL BROWDER
IS - C

Reference is made to my telephone call to the Bureau on March 16, 1962.

EARL BROWDER appeared as a guest on the Canadian Broadcasting Company program "701" on March 16, 1962. This program originated in Toronto, Ontario, and the program appears five nights a week and consists of interviews with two or three persons who happen to be in Toronto at the time for one reason or another. In BROWDER's case, he indicated on the telecast that he was in Toronto to give a speech at 8:30 on March 16, although he did not indicate the group before whom he would appear.

BROWDER was introduced as the former General Secretary of the CPUSA and as having run on the Communist Party ticket for President of the U. S. in 1936 and 1940 and as having been expelled from the CPUSA in 1945 for his policies of peaceful coexistence between communism and capitalism.

During the course of the interview, which lasted approximately 15 minutes, BROWDER pointed out he had been expelled from the CPUSA because of his premature adherence to a policy of peaceful coexistence which was considered heresy by the Party and right-wing deviationism. He also said that at the end of World War II Stalin's dictatorship, in order to maintain its strength, had to have a new enemy and decided on America. BROWDER said he felt that capitalism was too strong to be abolished, he never believed in any doctrine of inevitability, and felt the best role for the Party in the U. S. following World War II was through collaboration with social reforms.

5 - Bureau (1 - Liaison direct)
2 - Ottawa (1 - [redacted])

MLI:MEG

(7)

50 MAR 26 1962

to C.C. to NY

action

3/26/62

WPS/LAS:H

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 5/6/99 BY [redacted]

40-3798-839

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10 MAR 23 1962

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BROWDER said he applied for reinstatement in the CPUSA in 1948 as he felt there had been disillusionment with the orthodox party line and if they accepted him back into the Party it would be an admission on the Party's part that he had been right. He denied there had been any change in his views at the time he applied for readmission. He also said the Party had been justified in purging him from the Party as he is a "liberal in disguise and an anti-dogmatist." He said he holds no grudge against the Party and it was the best thing that ever happened to him since he has been a free man in a free society. He said that even after 16 years out of the Party, he is still referred to in the U. S. as "the Communist."

He said he believed ~~KHRUSHCHEV~~ *Nikita S.* is sincere in advocating peaceful coexistence and has evidenced it by the action taken by him to de-Stalinize Russia. He also said in connection with the future of communism in America there is no room for any party with the label of socialism or communism and any party advocating such a doctrine in order to be successful in the U. S. must drop the name socialist due to the great prejudice built up in the U. S. against the very word "socialist."

In reply to a question as to which line would eventually win - that of Russia or that of Red China, he pointed out Red China's line comes from Russia and China has no line except obstruction of the Russian line and those with no line cannot prevail. He also pointed out China would gain nothing by breaking with Russia.

In conclusion, *member of* he said he thought it was stupid for the U. S. to outlaw the Communist Party and considered the arrest of GUS HALL and BEN DAVIS as a triumph for the Party as it makes it appear to the rest of the world as though the great country of the U. S. were afraid of two or three thousand Communists in that country. He said freedom should be for everyone.

Additional information concerning BROWDER's visit to Canada will be obtained through and the Bureau will be advised.

b7D

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: March 19, 1962

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - CALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/19/01 BY [redacted]

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

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On the late afternoon of 3/16/62 Legat Attache (Legat) Moss Innes of Ottawa called and stated that Earl Browder was scheduled to appear on a television program in Ottawa at 7:00 p.m. on the evening of 3/16/62. This program which is known as Program 701 is a panel-type television show and Browder was expected to appear with two other people who would make up the panel.

Legat Innes said he wanted to know whether there was any information available which he could furnish to the [redacted] which they in turn could make available to the Canadian Immigration Service with a view to excluding Browder from Canada. I told Legat Innes that he already has in his possession all of the information we have concerning Browder with the possible exception of his appearance before a Federal grand jury in New York City on [redacted]. I told him that Browder appeared before the grand jury [redacted].

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[redacted] Legat Innes stated he is familiar with Browder's background but just wondered if there was any late information he did not have. I pointed out to him that it was already late in the afternoon and that if Browder was scheduled to appear at 7 o'clock he undoubtedly was already in Canada. Innes said this was possibly true. He said he did not receive the request from the [redacted] until just before he called.

ACTION:*Cs*

I told Innes the Bureau would be interested in what Browder had to say on this television program and he should furnish the information to the Bureau. He said this would be done.

- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner

FJB:fk
(4)

REC- 35

EX-105

40-3798-840
10 MAR 21 1962

60 MAR 29 1962

582

~~SECRET~~

Date: MAY 7, 1962

~~REC-11~~
EX-113

To: Director, FBI

(Bufile :)

Attention : [redacted]

From: Legal Attache, Ottawa

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b7E

Title EARL RUSSELL BROWDER	Character IS - C (II) Reference 40-3798-840 Mylet March 19, 1962
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Enclosed are the following communications received from the [redacted] Original and two copies of [redacted] letter dated May 4, 1962, which is self-explanatory.

b7D

Remarks:

b7D

[Redacted area]

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Dissemination

- ☐ May be made as received
☒ May be made as indicated by stamp on enclosure
☐ May not be made without further clearance with [redacted]

Following offices would be interested in receiving copies of enclosures:

Office of origin

Status with this office:

- ☒ RUC
☐ Pending
3 - Bureau (Encs. 3)
(1-Office of origin)

1 - Ottawa

MLI:MEG

(4)

Copy to IAC, outlet, encl. to NY
by routing slip for

☒ info ☐ action

date 5-16-62

by [redacted]

Do not write in space below

40-3798-841	REC-36
11 MAY 11 1962	EX-113
SUBV CONTROL	

b6
b7C

51 MAY 31 1962

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

CLASSIFIED BY [redacted]
DECLASSIFY ON: 25X 6
5/6/99

NY 100-321

For the info of WFO [] has advised that " E. BROWDER, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers 5, NY " advised MARY BERKMAN in Moscow that WILLIAM, NANCY and little [] will arrive in Riga from Sweden by air on 8/27/62 and will arrive in Moscow on 8/28.

b6
b7C
b7D

Information from [] should not be included in any communication which is prepared for dissemination and is to be used only for lead purposes.

b7D

From the above it would appear that MARY BERKMAN of Moscow is a sister-in-law of EARL RUSSEL BROWDER and [] is EARL's son who will be traveling with his wife [] and daughter []

b6
b7C

WFO is requested to check passport division State Department to ascertain if passport has been issued to [] NYC, [], or any of the other sons of EARL BROWDER and furnish NYO and interested office all info.

b6
b7C

NYO is attempting to locate reservations for [] and the Bureau will be advised if any are located.

b6
b7C

- 1 - Liaison
1 - Mr. Welch
1 - Mr. Haack
1 - Mr. Glascock
1 - Mr. Krupinsky

REC-11
(SC) 40-3798 - 842

EX-108
Date: July 26, 1962

To:

From: John Edgar Hoover, Director

Subject: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - ~~C~~ (U)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED EXCEPT
WHERE SHOWN OTHERWISE.

b6
b7C
b7D

CLASSIFIED BY
DECLASSIFY ON: 20X6
12/19/01

Reference is made to your letter dated July 17,
1962, your file number (C) (U)

b7D

Pursuant to your request in referenced letter,
enclosed are two copies of FBI record, Number 286 042.
This Bureau has no objection to your furnishing copies
of this record to the Immigration Branch of the Canadian
Department of Citizenship and Immigration. (C) (U)

Section 192, Title 22, United States Code,
referred to in enclosed FBI record, Number 286 042,
relates to jurisdiction of and appeal from consular courts.

On September 30, 1952, a sealed indictment was
returned by the Federal Grand Jury in the Southern District
of New York charging Browder with violation of Title 18,
Section 1015 (a), United States Code. He was charged with
perjury based on a false statement made under oath on
October 14, 1949, to the Immigration and Naturalization
Service. Assistant United States Attorney John S. Clark,
Southern District of New York, advised on November 25, 1959,
that on that date the Government had filed a nolle prosequi
regarding the perjury indictment which had been outstanding
against Browder and that the indictment was dismissed.

Enclosures (2)

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Malone _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Room _____

1 - RCMP Liaison Officer

1 - Ottawa (Enclosure) (See note page 2)

1 - Foreign Liaison Unit - 10/1/62

SEE NOTE PAGE 2.

EJK:mtb
(11)

67 AUG 2 1962

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

b3
b7E

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

b7D

NOTE TO LEGAL ATTACHE, OTTAWA:

A copy of the enclosed FBI record is forwarded to you for information purposes.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Subject's name is included in the Security Index. He has a long history of Communist Party activity and leadership, which is publicly known. Incoming indicates that Browder appeared on a television program at Toronto, Ontario, on 3-16-62 and the Immigration Branch, Canadian Department of Citizenship and Immigration, requested a criminal record from [redacted] in turn forwarded a request to the Bureau.

b7D

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

Since neither fingerprints nor an identifying number which is indexed in our files accompanied your request, FBI cannot guarantee in any manner that this material concerns the individual in whom you are interested.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

7-23-62
(295DEO)

b6
b7C

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 12/19/01 BY

Director.

The following FBI record, NUMBER

286 042

, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
United States Penitentiary Leavenworth, Kansas	Earl R. Browder #14314	July 14 1919	conspiracy	two years Paroled November 5, 1920
Police Department Detroit, Michigan	Earl Browder #38680	May 26 1930	fugitive from justice	-discharged on writ
Police Department Terre Haute, Indiana	Earl Browder #8768	September 30, 1936	vagrancy - investigation	released October 1,
Federal Detention Headquarters New York, New York	Earl Russell Browder, #28433	October 23, 1939	use of passport obtained by false statement	October 24, 1939 discharged on bail
United States Marshal New York, New York	Earl R. Browder #C25-24	October 23, 1939	charge not given	
Federal Detention Headquarters New York, New York	Earl Russell Browder, #32002	March 25 1941	use of passport obtained under false statements	4 years - 3-26-41 tr to USP Atlanta
United States Penitentiary Atlanta, Georgia	Earl Russell Browder, #60140	March 27 1941	unlawful use of passport obtained by false statement	4 years commutation of sentence May 16, 1942
DC Jail Washington DC	Earl Russell Browder #87266	December 1, 1950	T2 Sec, 192 U.S. Code-(US) (refusal of witness to testify)	no bond issued Criminal Court; 12-7-50, rel on bond
United States Marshal Washington, D.C.	Earl Russell Browder #1784-50	November 29, 1950	Section 192 22 United States Code	March 14, 1951, acquitted.
United States Marshal New York, New York	Earl Browder #C-1471-52	September 30, 1952	perjury	pending
Federal Detention Headquarters, New York, New York	Earl Browder #64333	September 30, 1952	False statement Immigration Naturalization	

COPIES DESTROYED

842 OCT 6 1970

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

7-23-62
(295 DEO)

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

2

The following FBI record, NUMBER 286 042, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
* .	As Earl Browder sentenced by Federal Judge upon return of verdict of guilty to 2 years and \$1000 fine on one count of indictment and 2 years and \$1000 fine on other count - sentence to run consecutively; bail of \$7500 continued until January 25, 1940.			
	Since neither fingerprints nor an identifying number which is indexed in our files accompanied your request, FBI cannot guarantee in any manner that this material concerns the individual in whom you are interested.			

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D.C.

7-23-62
(295 DEO)

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

3

The following FBI record, NUMBER 286 042, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
	<p>DESCRIPTION: Race: caucasian Sex: male Height: 5 feet 8 inches Weight: 170 pounds Hair: grey Eyes: blue Complexion: fair Build: medium Date and place of birth: May 20, 1891, Wichita, Kansas Residence: 7 Highland Place Yonkers, New York in 1952 Occupation: Accountant</p>			
	<p>Since neither fingerprints nor an identifying number which is indexed in our files accompanied your request, FBI cannot guarantee in any manner that this material concerns the individual in whom you are interested.</p>			

Information shown on this Identification Record represents data furnished FBI by fingerprint contributors. Where final disposition is not shown or further explanation of charge is desired, communicate with agency contributing those fingerprints.

Notations indicated by * are NOT based on fingerprints in FBI files but are listed only as investigative leads as being possibly identical with subject of this record.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
WASHINGTON 25, D. C.

7-23-62
(295DEO)

J. Edgar Hoover
Director.

1-BU The following FBI record, NUMBER 286 042, is furnished FOR OFFICIAL USE ONLY.

CONTRIBUTOR OF FINGERPRINTS	NAME AND NUMBER	ARRESTED OR RECEIVED	CHARGE	DISPOSITION
*	Refer two copies of record on all inquiries re Earl Russell Browder, was, George Morris, Nicholas Dozenberg, Albert Harry Richards, Irl Browder, Joseph War, Joseph Dixon, Albert Underwood, Earl Russell, Earl Wingate, Earl W. Ringrose, to BFD, NY, NY, their file #100-25693, per inf rec therefrom 3-15-51, (ident #28433).			
BFD NY NY	Earl Russell Browder NY File #100-25693	9-30-52	perjury Title 18 Sec 1015 (a)	Turned over to USM November 25, 1959 Nolle Prosequi filed by United States Attorney in United States District Court Southern District New York

Since neither fingerprints nor an identifying number which is indexed in our files accompanied your request, FBI cannot guarantee in any manner that this material concerns the individual in whom you are interested.

THIS PAGE SHOULD NOT BE DISSEMINATED OUTSIDE FBI

Notations indicated by * ARE NOT BASED ON FINGERPRINTS IN FBI files. The notations are based on data formerly furnished this Bureau concerning individuals of the same or similar names or aliases and ARE LISTED ONLY AS INVESTIGATIVE LEADS.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : MR. A. ROSEN

DATE: October 11, 1961

FROM : MR. G. H. SCATTERDAY

SUBJECT:

INFORMATION CONCERNING

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Malone _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____ b6
 Ingram _____ b7C
 Gandy _____

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 12/19/01 BY [signature]

The attached clipping from the 10-11-61 edition of the "Washington Daily News" reveals that [redacted], son of Earl Browder, former Communist Party leader in the United States, had been awarded a \$37,500 grant by the National Science Foundation (NSF) for studies in higher mathematics.

see 100-344948-22

Attached is a memorandum from Mr. Bland to Mr. Belmont dated 10-7-58 which sets forth a summary of information in our files concerning [redacted]. This memorandum also sets forth background concerning the NSF and information concerning the Director, Alan T. Waterman, and the Chairman of the National Science Board, which is part of NSF, Detlev W. Bronk. (As instructed by the Director and Mr. Tolson on the attached memorandum, letters were sent to the Vice President, the Attorney General and Deputy Attorney General Walsh on 10-8-58)

Bureau files contain no additional pertinent information concerning Browder and the 1960-61 United States Government Organization Manual indicates that Waterman and Bronk are still in the same positions as mentioned above with NSF. (100-344948-22)

ACTION:

For information.

Enclosure

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Rosen
- 1 - Mr. WC Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Bland
- 1 - Name Check Section

GHS:fjb
 (7)

29
 OCT 29 1962

100-344948-23
 10 OCT 25 1962

140-3798
 NOT RECORDED
 145 OCT 29 1962

67 OCT 29 1962

b6
 b7C

b6
 b7C

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-344948-23

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-1469)

8/7/62

SAC, WFO (100-16315) (P)

WILLIAM EDWIN BROWDER

ESP - R

(OO:NY)

ReNYlet dated 7/10/62 requesting a check on passport files on [redacted] and [redacted]

Files of the Passport Office, Department of State, Washington, D. C., as reviewed by SA JAMES J. FARRELL on 7/25/62, reflected that [redacted] was issued [redacted] on 12/29/59. This passport was not valid for travel to Albania, Hungary and those portions of China, Korea and Viet-Nam under communist control. This passport was not valid unless renewed.

In an application for this passport dated 12/28/59 at New York City, [redacted] advised that he was born on [redacted] at New York City. His residence was listed as [redacted], Yonkers, New York.

The subject listed his father as EARL R. BROWDER who was born in Kansas and resided at 7 Highland Place. His mother was listed as RAISSA BERKMAN BROWDER who was born in 1898 in Russia. She was indicated as not being a citizen of the United States and to be deceased.

The subject indicated that he had never been married.

BROWDER planned on leaving the port of New York via ship "Cunard Lines" in February, 1960. He proposed on visiting England and France for about seven months to study at Oxford, England, under a National Science Foundation Fellowship.

- 3 - Bureau (100-1469)
(1-40-3788)
- 3 - New York (100-321) (RM)
(1-100-25693) (EARL RUSSELL BROWDER)
- 1 - WFO (100-16315)

PEH:jfe
(7)

68 AUG 17 1962

DATE

7/14/99

140-3798-
NOT RECORDED
186 AUG 8 1962

ORIGINAL FILED IN

b6
b7C

b3

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

WFO 100-16315

The following physical description of [redacted]
[redacted] was obtained from his application for passport:

Height: 6'
Hair: Brown
Eyes: Blue
Marks: None
Occupation: Professor of Mathematics

Copies of a photograph of [redacted] which
he attached to his application of passport will be forwarded
to New York by routing slip when they have been processed.

The files of the [redacted] as reviewed by
SA FARRELL on 7/26/62, reflected that [redacted] was
issued [redacted] on 2/17/60. This passport
was not valid for travel to Albania and those portions of
China, Korea and Viet-Nam under communist control.

In an application for this passport dated 2/16/60
at Chicago, Illinois, [redacted] advised that she was
born on [redacted] at Oak Park, Illinois. She listed her
residence as [redacted], Yonkers, New York.

The subject listed her father as FRANK J. O'BRIEN
who was born on 12/27/04 at Rock Island, Illinois. She
listed her mother as JOAN FRANCIS who was born at Galveston,
Texas. Both parents were indicated to be residing at
1122 North Kenilworth, Oak Park.

[redacted] indicated that she married [redacted]
[redacted] on 1/30/60. He was listed as having been born on
[redacted] at New York, New York, and residing with the subject.
She planned on leaving the port of New York via BOAC on
2/29/60. The subject planned on visiting England, France,
Norway, and Denmark for about six months to accompany her
husband. The following physical description of [redacted]
was obtained from her application for passport:

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b3
b6
b7C

b6
b7C

b6
b7C

WFO 100-16315

Height: 5' 6"
Hair: Brown
Eyes: Blue
Occupation: Housewife

Passport files further reflected that [redacted] was issued passport number [redacted] on 3/22/56 at Chicago, Illinois. This file, however, was not available for review at this time, and the results of a check of this file will be forwarded to the New York Division when available.

b6
b7C

Copies of a photograph which [redacted] attached to her application for passport will be forwarded to the New York Division by routing slip when they have been processed.

b6
b7C

The files of the [redacted] as reviewed by IC ROBERT L. WERTMAN on 7/27/62, reflected that [redacted] does not have a current passport. He had been issued passport number [redacted] on 6/7/57 which was renewed on 4/15/60.

b3
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b7C

Mrs. VERDE L. CRENSHAW, [redacted] Washington, D. C., on 7/30/62 advised IC RUPERT G. DANIELS that there was no record identifiable with [redacted] in the files of the [redacted]

b3
b6
b7C

REC-51

October 22, 1962

40-571-843
Sister M. Denise, S. S. J.
Saint Margaret Mary Convent
5139 Lemay Avenue
Detroit 13, Michigan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-91 BY [redacted]

b6
b7c

My dear Sister:

Your letter of October 15, 1962, has been received,
and I thank you for your prayers.

Although I would like to be of service, information
contained in the files of the FBI must be maintained as confidential
in accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice and
is available for official use only.

May I suggest, however, that you contact the House
Committee on Un-American Activities, Room 225, Cannon House
Office Building and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee,
Room 3232, New Senate Office Building, both in Washington 25, D. C.,
for information pertaining to your inquiry.

In addition, both of my books, "Masters of Deceit"
and "A Study of Communism," contain references to the subject of
your inquiry. Copies may be obtained from the publisher, Holt,
Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 383 Madison Avenue, New York 17,
New York. Possibly your local public library or bookstore will have
editions.

For further assistance, I am enclosing other material
on the subject of communism which you may find of interest.

UCL 30 2 20 61.25
Sincerely yours,

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (5)

See enclosures and note next page.
DTP:may (3)

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

TO: Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Sister M. Denise, S.S.J.

Enclosures

Director's speech of 10/9/62 (An American's Challenge)

Communism and the Knowledge to Combat It!

Do You Really Understand Communism?

Let's Fight Communism Sanely!

Deadly Duel

NOTE: Correspondent is not identifiable in Bufiles. Earl Browder is the well-known communist.

TRUE COPY

ST. MARGARET MARY CONVENT
5139 LEMAY AVENUE
DETROIT 13, MICHIGAN
October 15, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F. B. I. Headquarter
Washington D. C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/19/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Since you have access to such marvelous sources of information will you please assist me with information on the whereabouts or the present activities of Earl Browder?

At present I'm taking a course at U. of D. and I must give a lecture of Earl Browder and his background. I have access to material up to nineteen fifty-seven (1957) Will you please send me up-to date material to complete my report?

Thank you and may God continue to bless you and your work.

Sincerely in Saint Joseph,
Sister M. Denise, S. S. J.

J

10-18-62

REC-51

40-3798-843

5 OCT 23 1962

8-2018

rm
1 TC 10-18-62
fern
22
ack 10-19-62
ALT/p/fern/bow

ST. MARGARET MARY CONVENT
5139 LEMAY AVENUE
DETROIT 13, MICH.

October 15, 1962

Mr. J. Edgar Hoover
F.B.I. Headquarters
Washington D.C.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Since you have access to such marvelous sources of information will you please assist me with information on the whereabouts or the present activities of Earl Browder?

At present I'm taking a course at U. of D. and I must give a lecture on Earl Browder and his background. I have access to material up to nineteen fifty-seven (1957) Will you please send me up-to-date material to complete my report?

ack 10-19-62

Thank you for your information
10-18-62 jem

CORRESPONDENCE

ST. MARGARET MARY CONVENT
5139 LEMAY AVENUE
DETROIT 13, MICH.

God continue to bless you and
your work.

Sincerely in Saint Joseph,
Sister M. Denise, S. S. J.

ST. MARGARET MARY CONVENT
5139 LEMAY AVENUE
DETROIT 13, MICH.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-29-01 BY [redacted]

November 21, 1962

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Casper	
Mr. Callahan	
Mr. Conrad	b6
Mr. DeLoach	b7C
Mr. Evans	
Mr. Gale	X
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Sullivan	
Mr. Tavel	
Mr. Trotter	
Tele. Room	
Miss Holmes	
Miss Gandy	

Mr. John Edgar Hoover,
United States Department of Justice
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington 25, D.C.

FAR! Browder

Dear Mr. Hoover,

Thank you for your letter dated October 22, 1962 and for the very helpful information that it contained.

Today, at the close of school the Thanksgiving vacation started and with it came a break in a heavy schedule. You have been much in my thoughts and prayers due to the fact that I couldn't collect enough free minutes to sit down and tell you how much I appreciated your quick response to my request for information.

40-3798-844
EX-103 REC-37
NOV 30 1962
CORRESPONDENCE
60 NOV 30 1962

ST. MARGARET MARY CONVENT
5139 LEMAY AVENUE
DETROIT 13, MICH.

I wish to thank you, also, for the material on communism which you so generously included.

My compliments to you on your inspiring speeches, pamphlets etc., by which you have done so much to preserve the real spirit of patriotism in our nation.

That God may give you many more years of health and spiritual strength to continue your wonderful work is my fervent wish for you.

Sincerely and gratefully,

Sister M. Denise, S.S.J.

Sister M. Denise S.S.J.

ST MARGARET MARY CONVENT

5139 Lemay Ave

DETROIT 13, MICH.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE NOV 30 1962	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 9/26 - 11/15/62
TITLE OF CASE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER aka		REPORT MADE BY JAMES E. GORDON	TYPED BY for
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM-C	

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/24/99 BY [redacted]

b6
b7C

REFERENCE:

Report of SA JAMES E. GORDON, dated 11/24/61, at NY.

- C -

INFORMANTS:

Identity of Source

NY T-1

[redacted]

(Concealed at Request)

NY T-2

[redacted]

File Number Where Located

Instant Report

100-25693-1720

Informants who were contacted in September and

APPROVED

SPECIAL AGENT
IN CHARGE

COPIES MADE:

4-Bureau (40-3798)
1-INS, NYC
3-New York (100-25693)

DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW

40-	3798-	845	REC-24
BUREAU 3			EX-120

DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT

AGENCY.....				
REQUEST RECD.....				
DATE FWD.....				
HOW FWD.....				
BY.....				

NOTATIONS

SUBJ. [redacted]

SEE SER. 846 FOR AMENDED REPORT.
3 cc's DESTROYED. 12/24/62

Do Not Disseminate

NY 100-25693

INFORMANTS Cont'd

October, 1962, and who were unable to furnish information concerning the subject's activities are identified as follows:

Informant

Date Contacted

Contacted By

b7D

Forme

9/26/62

SA JOHN A. HAAG

9/26/62

SA JOHN A. HAAG

9/27/62

SA JOHN A. HAAG

10/10/62

SA JOHN DI MARCHI

10/10/62

SA JOHN DI MARCHI

10/10/62

SA JOHN DI MARCHI

10/9/62

SA JOHN DI MARCHI

10/9/62

SA JOHN DI MARCHI

10/17/62

SA ROGER O'MARA

10/17/62

SA ROGER O'MARA

10/15/62

SA ROGER O'MARA

10/22/62

SA ROGER O'MARA

10/15/62

SA ROGER O'MARA

10/9/62

SA ROGER O'MARA

10/9/62

SA ROGER O'MARA

10/17/62

SA ROGER O'MARA

10/4/62

SA JOHN B. COULTON

COVER PAGE

- B -

NY 100-25693

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☒ Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are
7. ☒ b7D
8. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates)
- ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) he has declined in the past to make an appointment for interview and because of his negative attitude when he appeared before the Federal Grand Jury, Subject b3 is also occasionally appearing as a lecturer and it is felt that he might possibly attempt to embarrass the Bureau by discussing attempts to obtain information from him.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
10. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) subject's current activities do not warrant retention on SI but do to the fact that he had knowledge of and assisted in Espionage in the past and because of the high office he held in the CP for a number of years, it is recommended that he be retained on the SI. (Report of SA JAMES E. HANLON, NY, dated 12/31/56).
11. ☒ Subject's SI card ☒ is ☐ is not tabbed Detcom.
- ☒ Subject's activities ☒ do ☐ do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to: 1-INS, NYC

Report of: JAMES E. GORDON

Office: New York, New York

Date: NOV 30 1962

Field Office File No.: 100-25693

Bureau File No.: 40-3798

Title: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis:

Subject resided at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, and was unemployed as of 11/15/62. Subject appeared on a radio station in Toronto, Canada, on 3/16/62, and stated he had been premature with his ideas of peaceful co-existence. He also stated he did not believe class struggle can develop into class war in a country where reforms are possible. He believed that the place for the left wing in American politics is in the left wing of a Democratic Party which he believes will further the national development of the country by building a welfare state. He doubted there is room for a political party on the American Continent that goes under the label of Socialism or Communism. Subject on same date addressed a gathering in Toronto and spoke on "Socialism and America". He stated that Socialism in a form had made great gains in the US and attempted to prove that the US is well on its way to becoming a welfare state.

- C - (U)

DETAILS:I. BACKGROUNDA. Residence and Employment

NY T-1 advised on November 15, 1962, that the subject

DECLASSIFIED BY
ON 5/24/99

CONFIDENTIAL

Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassificationb6
b7c

NY 100-25693

continued to reside at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, and that he was unemployed.

II. SUBJECT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)

A. Views Expressed in Appearances

NY T-2, a confidential source abroad, advised on May 4, 1962, that EARL BROWDER had arrived in Toronto, Ontario, on March 16, 1962. His visit was sponsored by JOSEPH BARUCH SALSBERG.

NY T-2 advised that SALSBERG had been a leading figure in the Communist Movement in Canada from 1927 until 1957 and had served on the National Executive Committee of the Labor - Progressive Party (now known as the Communist Party of Canada). In May, 1957, SALSBERG publically announced his resignation from the Communist Party and became leader of a minority faction made up of former LPP members which no longer exists as an organization.

NY T-2 advised that BROWDER appeared for an interview on the CBC - TV Program which was telecasted from 7:00 to 7:30 PM on March 16, 1962.

BROWDER was asked why he had been purged from the CP and he advised that perhaps he had been premature with the idea of peaceful co-existence and he believed that he was somewhat ahead of KHRUSHCHEV on that subject. He stated that he was accused of revising the Marxist - Leninist theory and was classified as a right wing deviationist. He stated that his line emphasized peaceful co-existence and the avoidance of World War II by finding a means of living together.

BROWDER stated that he did not believe in class war in the sense that it is used in Europe. He explained that the class struggle in America took a different form and he believed that class struggle cannot develop into class war in a country where reforms are possible. He further stated that most Europeans are

NY 100-25693

inclined to look at all class struggles as class war because of ~~these~~ peculiar experiences.

He felt that the United States is on the road to ~~far~~ reaching reforms and that there is no place for the left wing in American politics except by collaborating and acting as the left wing of a Democratic Party. In this way, he stated, it will further the national development of the country by building a welfare state.

BROWDER related that he had applied for re-admission to the CP in 1948, believing that ~~if~~ he was accepted, it would indicate that his policy had also been accepted. He claimed that he had made no concession on his policy and pointed out to the CP that their line was leading them to disaster and he would help them to prevent that from happening.

BROWDER observed that there was no room for any political party on this continent that goes under the label of Socialism or Communism. He stated that there is a great prejudice in America towards ~~the~~ towards the word Socialism but it is quite different in Europe, Asia and Africa, where everyone is a socialist.

Following the interview which appeared on TV, NY T-2 advised that BROWDER, accompanied by SALSBERG, proceeded to the Gold Room of the Park Plaza Hotel, where he addressed a gathering at 8:30 PM. NY T-2 advised that approximately 200 persons were in attendance and that the audience appeared to be made up of former members of the LPP who had left that organization at the time that SALSBERG resigned and trade union members. The main body appeared to be members of the New Fraternal Jewish Association (NFJA) which the informant described as an organization formed in 1960, by former members of the Communist controlled United Jewish Peoples Order.

SALSBERG took the floor and introduced BROWDER. SALSBERG explained that he had sent out personal invitations to a small selected group under his name and that the meeting was not sponsored by any organization. He emphasized that he had no ulterior motive and no specific desire to accomplish anything by arranging the gathering other than simply to spend an evening listening to a man who is worth while listening too. He then

NY 100-25693

introduced BROWDER and advised that his lecture would be on the topic "Socialism and America".

BROWDER advised that Socialism as a political movement, seems to have disappeared because it has been discredited as a whole by the example of the Socialism in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), specifically by Stalinism. When the worse features of Stalinism were revealed in the 20th Congress of 1956, it gave a deep shock to the world's opinion of Socialism and it was a shock to everyone within the Soviet empire to know that such things could be done in the name of Socialism.

BROWDER stated that outside the range of the USSR, Socialism, the Socialist System, has made great advances. He then went into detail to present the theory that Socialism in a form, had been introduced and advanced in the United States. He compared the Marxist method of achieving Socialism to the progress made in the United States and attempted to prove that the United States is well on its way to becoming a welfare state. He gave such examples as Government ownership of large industrial firms, increased public control of economy which has steadily grown at the expense of private control. BROWDER contended that this form of Socialism has been brought about by the main parties in the United States and that these parties would continue a "creeping" socialism until they have developed a welfare state.

BROWDER stated that although there has been considerable advancement in the United States economy toward Socialism, the ideology of Socialism has failed to advance, because there has never been any poverty in the United States.

BROWDER stated that although the United States does not have a Socialist ideology or an influential Socialist Party, the Americans appear to have more substantial socialist benefits than does the Soviet Union. BROWDER then concluded his lecture by leaving the question with the audience "Should Socialists refuse to accept Socialism which has not been built by their own party but by the Democratic Republican Party, or should they adjust themselves to Un-Orthodox Socialism and endeavor to improve on it."

The informant advised that subsequent to the lecture, BROWDER advised SALSBERG that he has not joined any organization mainly because none seem to have ideas closely related to his own. He feels that there is no exciting group that he can talk with.

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B. Miscellaneous

Informants who are acquainted with certain aspects of CP activity in the New York area were contacted in September and October, 1962, and advised that they had no information concerning the activities of this subject.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York

NOV 30 1967

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

BU 40-3798
NY 100-25693

Title

Earl Russell Browder

Character

Security Matter - C

Reference

is made to the report of Special Agent James E. Gordon, dated and captioned as above, at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

NY T-1 who was in a position to furnish reliable information.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (File 40-3798) DATE: 11/21/62

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (File 100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM - C

This case will be delinquent.

Date of Bureau deadline: 11/24/62

Reason for the delinquency: Priority to earlier due dates.

Date the report or necessary communication
will reach the Bureau: 11/30/62

AEC zone designation; e.g., OR, CH, etc.:
(This applies only to 116 cases.)

RM

JEG:mbg

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-19-9 BY [redacted]

F-110
SUBV. CONTROL

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 11/30/62	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 9/26-11/15/62
TITLE OF CASE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER aka		REPORT MADE BY JAMES E. GORDON	TYPED BY jor
		CHARACTER OF CASE <i>Photo</i> CC TO: [redacted] REQ. REC'D 12/18/63 JAN 10 1964 ANS. BY: <i>Wep-jor</i> <i>Spec. Request</i>	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA JAMES E. GORDON, dated 11/24/61, at NY.

- C -

INFORMANTSIdentity of SourceFile Number Where Located

NY T-1

[redacted]

(Concealed at Request)

Instant Report

NY T-2

[redacted]

100-25693-1717

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 4 - Bureau (40-3798) 3 - New York (100-25693)		40-3798-8416	REC <i>[initials]</i>
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/24/99 BY <i>[redacted]</i>		21 25 DEC 1962	
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS	
AGENCY.....			
REQUEST RECD.			
DATE FWD.			
HOW FWD.			
BY.....			

DEC 27 1962

100-25693

DEC 8 1962

THIS IS AMENDED REPORT FOR SER. 845
12/26/62
(per. J.H.G.)

NY 100-25693

INFORMANTS (Cont'd)

Identity of Source

File Number Where Located

b7D

USED TO CHARACTERIZE BEN DAVIS

USED TO CHARACTERIZE CROWN HEIGHTS FORUM

Informants who were contacted in September and October, 1962, and who were unable to furnish information concerning the subject's activities are identified as follows:

Informant

Date Contacted

Contacted By

b7D

9/26/62
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10/10/62
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SA JOHN A. HAAG
SA JOHN A. HAAG
SA JOHN A. HAAG
SA JOHN DI MARCHI
SA JOHN DI MARCHI
SA JOHN DI MARCHI
SA JOHN DI MARCHI
SA JOHN DI MARCHI
SA JOHN DI MARCHI
SA ROGER O'MARA
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10/4/62

SA JOHN B. COULTON

COVER PAGE

NY 100-25693

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☒ Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.
7. ☒ This report is classified Confidential because (state reason) it contains information from NYt-2 through NYt-5, whose identities, if disclosed, could hamper security investigations in the NYO, and be of possible injury to national defense.
8. ☐ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____.
☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) he has declined in the past to make an appointment for interview and because of his negative attitude when he appeared before the Federal Grand Jury, 3/61. Subject also occasionally appears as a lecturer and it is felt that he might possibly attempt to embarrass the Bureau by discussing attempts to obtain information from him.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
10. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) he had knowledge of and assisted in Espionage in the past and because of the high office he held in the CP for a number of years. (NY report of SA JAMES E. HANLON, 12/31/56)
11. ☒ Subject's SI card ☒ is ☐ is not tabbed Detcom.
☒ Subject's activities ☒ do ☐ do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

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- C* -

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Copy to:

Report of: JAMES E. GORDON
Date: 11/30/62

Office: New York, New York

Field Office File No.: 100-25693

Bureau File No.: 40-3798

Title: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

Character: SECURITY MATTER - ~~C~~ (U)

Synopsis: Subject resides at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, and was unemployed as of 11/15/62. EARL BROWDER, appeared as a guest on the Canadian Broadcasting Company program "701" on 3/16/62. BROWDER was introduced as the former General Secretary of the CP, USA. During the course of the interview BROWDER pointed out he had been expelled from the CP, USA because of his premature adherence to a policy of peaceful co-existence. He said he believed KHRUSHCHEV is sincere in advocating peaceful co-existence and has evidenced it by the action taken by him to de-Stalinize Russia. He stated he thought it was stupid for the United States to outlaw the CP and considered the arrest of GUS HALL and BEN DAVIS as a triumph for the Party as it makes it appear to the rest of the world as though the great country of the United States were afraid of two or three thousand Communists in that country.

~~- C -~~ (U)

DETAILS:

I. BACKGROUND

A. Residence and Employment

NY T-1 advised on November 15, 1962, that the subject

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ON 5/24/99

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Group 1

Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
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NY 100-25693

continued to reside at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, and that he was unemployed.

II. SUBJECT'S ATTITUDE TOWARD THE COMMUNIST PARTY (CP)

A. Views Expressed in Appearances

During March, 1962, NY T-2 advised that EARL BROWDER appeared as a guest on a Canadian Broadcasting Company program "701" on March 16, 1962. This program originated in Toronto, Ontario, and consists of interviews with people who happen to be in Toronto at the time for one reason or another.

BROWDER was introduced as the former General Secretary of the CP, USA and as having run on the CP ticket for President of the United States in 1936 and 1940, and as having been expelled from the CP, USA in 1945 for his policies of peaceful co-existence between Communism and Capitalism.

During the course of the interview BROWDER pointed out he had been expelled from the CP, USA because of his premature adherence to a policy of peaceful co-existence. BROWDER said that he felt that Capitalism was too strong to be abolished, he never believed in any doctrine of inevitability, and felt the best role for the Party in the United States following World War II was through collaboration with social reforms.

BROWDER said he applied for reinstatement in the CP, USA in 1948, as he felt there had been disillusionment with the orthodox party line and that if they accepted him back into the Party it would be an admission on the Party's part that he had been right. He said he holds no grudge against the Party and that it was the best thing that ever happened to him since he has been a free man in a free society. He reflected that even after 16 years out of the Party he is still referred to in the United States as "the Communist".

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NY 100-25693

He said he believed KHRUSHCHEV is sincere in advocating peaceful co-existence and has evidenced it by the action taken by him to de-Stalinize Russia. He also said in connection with the future of Communism in America there is no room for any party with the label of socialism or Communism and any party advocating such a doctrine in order to be successful in the United States must drop the name socialist due to the great prejudice built up in the United States against the very word "socialist".

In reply to a question as to which line would eventually win - that of Russia or that of Red China, he pointed out Red China's line comes from Russia and China has no line except obstruction of the Russian line and those with no line cannot prevail. He also pointed out China would gain nothing by breaking with Russia.

In conclusion, he said he thought it was stupid for the United States to outlaw the CP and considered the arrest of GUS HALL and BEN DAVIS as a triumph for the Party as it makes it appear to the rest of the world as though the great country of the United States were afraid of two or three thousand Communists in that country. He said freedom should be for everyone.

On May 7, 1962, NY T-3 advised GUS HALL is General Secretary, CP, USA.

On May 7, 1962, NY T-4 advised BENJAMIN J. DAVIS, on May 6, 1962, while addressing the Crown Heights Forum in Brooklyn, New York, stated he is the National Secretary of the CP, USA.

On January 17, 1961, NY T-5 advised the Crown Heights Forum is sponsored by the Crown Heights Section of the Kings County CP and is open to both Party and non-Party members.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

Informants who are acquainted with certain aspects of CP activity in the New York area were contacted in September and October, 1962, and advised that they had no information concerning the activities of this subject.

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

New York, New York
November 30, 1962

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No.

BU 40-3798
NY 100-25693

Title Earl Russell Browder

Character Security Matter - ~~C~~ (U)

Reference is made to the report of Special Agent James E. Gordon, dated and captioned as above, at New York.

All sources (except any listed below) whose identities are concealed in referenced communication have furnished reliable information in the past.

Except NY T-1, who was in a position to furnish reliable information.

SAC, New York (100-25693)

April 30, 1963

Director, FBI (40-3798)

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

1- Mr. Donohue
1- Mr. Haack
1- Mr. Glascock
1- Mr. Ryan

Browder was affiliated with the Communist Party and the Communist Political Association from 1921 until his expulsion for revisionism in February, 1946. He held the position of General Secretary for many years and reportedly was in charge of the Party's secret apparatus and international affiliations. In recent years, Browder has characterized himself as a socialist and has expressed contempt for the Communist Party, USA, and Soviet Union.

In September, 1959, you made an effort to interview Browder in connection with the Soble case. At the time, Browder pointed out he was under indictment for perjury and would not consider an interview while the indictment was outstanding. This indictment was dismissed November, 1959.

If Browder were to cooperate with the Bureau, he would be in a position to furnish extensive background regarding matters of investigative interest.

You are instructed to assign two experienced Agents, who are well versed in both the practical and theoretical aspects of communist investigations and history, to thoroughly review your files for background material which could be used in connection with a current interview of Browder. Thereafter, you should summarize this material in a letter to the Bureau including your detailed recommendations for an approach of the subject.

Your letter should reach the Bureau within 30 days.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

Browder, born 5-20-91, at Wichita, Kansas, currently resides alone at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York. In recent years, he has made few public pronouncements and his time is reported to be consumed in writing. He is included on the Security Index of the New York Office.

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Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
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Gale _____
Rosen _____
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Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

MAIL ROOM ☐

TELETYPE UNIT ☐

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/99 BY [redacted]

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Letter to New York
RE: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
100-25693

NOTE ON YELLOW CONTINUED:

Browder's Communist Party (CP) membership dates from January, 1921, until his expulsion on 2-12-46 as a result of the publication of the Jacques Duclos letter which was critical of his collaboration with the capitalist nations during the years of World War II. Browder, himself, has more recently indicated his expulsion resulted from his premature policy of coexistence which was considered right-wing deviationism. Browder held the position of General Secretary of the CP from 1930 until 5-22-44 when he was elected President of the Communist Political Association. He was the CP candidate for President of the United States in 1936 and 1940 and polled 80,159 and 47,879 votes, respectively.

Various informants and sources have identified Browder as closely associated with the espionage and financial activities of the CP during his period of leadership. He is reported to be one of the few who had knowledge of the identity of individuals involved in the Party's secret apparatus and the international aspects of the Party's activities were operated solely by him.

Since his wife died in 1955, Browder has written a book and made a limited number of speeches and radio and television appearances. He has been critical of both Stalin and Khrushchev and has characterized the CPUSA as ridiculous and as not constituting a threat. There were reports he was interested in joining the Socialist Party and in forming a new socialist coalition, but these plans never materialized. In November, 1959, and March, 1961, Browder took the [redacted] in appearances before a Federal grand jury in [redacted].

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Browder is said to have shielded his three sons from communism and in a televised interview in June, 1957, he stated his sympathy would lie with the United States in the event of a war with Soviet Russia.

After receipt of the requested information from New York, we will submit our recommendations for a carefully planned interview of Browder.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)

DATE: 5/29/63

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA - TOPLEV
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ReBulet 4/30/63.

Relet instructed the NYO to review BROWDER'S file for the purpose of preparing to reinterview the subject. It was decided to assign this case to the Toplev Program and to conduct the interview under provisions relating to that Program. The following is a summary of the information contained in the NYO files relative to BROWDER'S extensive background in the CP.

RESIDENCE & EMPLOYMENT

BROWDER resides at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, and is self employed as a writer at his residence.

BACKGROUND

BROWDER was born on 5/20/91, in Wichita, Kansas. He received very little education in the schools, however, he pursued his studies on his own and became a self-educated man. He was awarded an LL.B. Degree from Lincoln University as a result of his completion of a correspondence course in 1914. He has been twice married. He divorced his first wife, GLADYS, in Moscow in 1926, and thereafter married RAISSA BERKMAN in Moscow. His second wife died in New York in 1955. He has three children:

AFFILIATION WITH THE SUBVERSIVE MOVEMENT

BROWDER was active in the Socialist Party at the age of 15, and in 1912 he became aligned with the Syndicalist Movement led by

(3) - Bureau (100-3-99) (RM)
(1 - 40-3798) *Toplev*

1 - New York
1 - New York (100-25693) #41

PMB:JM

(5) 6 JUN 1963

*Letter to New York
6-18-63
DR: dfor: mjb*

EX-116

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NY 100-25693

WILLIAM Z. FOSTER. He studied Marx and Engels while serving a sentence for violation of the draft law during 1919-1920, and when he was released from jail, he became active in the newly formed CP.

BROWDER became a member of the National Committee of the CP in 1921, and was named General Secretary of the Party in 1930. During 1927-1929, he served as Director of the Pan-Pacific Trade Union Secretariat in Hankow and Shanghai, China, and is reported to have had knowledge of the underground activities of the CP in China during that period. He served as General Secretary of the CPUSA until 1944 when he was named President of the Communist Political Association (CPA). In 1946 he was expelled from the CPUSA and thereafter represented Soviet publishing houses in the United States from 1946-1949. He applied for reinstatement in the CP in 1948 but was rejected.

During BROWDER'S tenure of office in the CP and the CPA, he was reportedly in charge of the Party's secret apparatus and international affiliations. In recent years he has characterized himself as a socialist and has expressed contempt for the CP and the Soviet Union. He has appeared on television interviews, lecture platforms, and has written magazine articles indicating this contempt for the CP and his belief in socialism.

BROWDER has been interviewed by agents of the FBI in 1942, 1947, 1949, 1952, 1955 and 1959, and has declined to cooperate concerning his knowledge of the CP. In 1955 he stated that any cooperation on his part would lead to public testimony and possible involvement in contempt or perjury charges against him. In 1959 he stated that he did not feel that he should become involved in any matters with the FBI until an indictment for perjury against him at that time was disposed of in one way or another. This indictment was dismissed in November, 1959.

METHOD OF APPROACH

It has been observed in the past that BROWDER follows an almost daily routine of walking to the neighborhood store for his newspapers and groceries and it is anticipated that an opportunity to approach him while he is so engaged would afford the contacting agents a chance to talk with him at leisure and thus determine the prospects of possible cooperation on his part. In the event an approach of this sort is not feasible, Bureau

NY 100-25693

authority will be requested to contact him at his residence. The interview will be conducted by two experienced agents.

Bureau authority is therefore requested to contact BROWDER for interview to determine his current attitude toward cooperation with the FBI.

NA 37
Mr. W. C. Sullivan

June 17, 1963

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
TOPLEV
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Glascock
1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Ryan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12-21-01 BY [redacted]

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Browder, who is included in the Security Index of the New York Office, currently resides at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, and his time is reported to be consumed in writing.

Browder's Communist Party (CP) membership dates from January, 1921, until his expulsion on 2-12-46 as a result of the publication of the Jacques Duclos letter which was critical of his collaboration with the capitalist nations during the years of World War II. Browder, himself, has more recently indicated his expulsion resulted from his premature policy of coexistence which was considered right-wing deviationism. Browder held the position of General Secretary of the CP from 1930 until 5-22-44 when he was elected President of the Communist Political Association. He was the CP candidate for President of the United States in 1936 and 1940 and polled 80,159 and 47,879 votes, respectively.

Various informants and sources have identified Browder as closely associated with the espionage and financial activities of the CP during his period of leadership. He is reported to be one of the few who had knowledge of the identity of individuals involved in the Party's secret apparatus and the international aspects of the Party's activities were operated solely by him.

Since his wife died in 1955, Browder has written a book and made a limited number of speeches and radio and television appearances. He has been critical of both Stalin and Khrushchev and has characterized the CPUSA as ridiculous and as not constituting a threat. There were reports he was interested in joining the Socialist Party and in forming a new socialist coalition, but these plans never materialized. In November, 1959, and March, 1961, Browder [redacted] in appearances before a Federal grand jury in New York City.

Enc.

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Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
TOPLEV

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
100-3-99
40-3798

Browder is said to have shielded his three sons from communism and in a televised interview in June, 1957, he stated his sympathy would lie with the United States in the event of a war with Soviet Russia.

In September, 1959, an effort was made to interview Browder by Special Agents in connection with the Soble case. At that time Browder pointed out he was under indictment for perjury and would not consider an interview while the indictment was outstanding. This indictment was dismissed in November, 1959.

According to reliable sources Browder has a personal knowledge of individuals and matters involved with the clandestine activities of the CP during his period of leadership. If he were to cooperate with the Bureau, he would be in a position to furnish extensive background regarding matters of investigative interest.

RECOMMENDATION:

If you approve, we will forward the attached letter to New York authorizing an interview of Browder under the provisions of the Toplev Program.

SAC, New York [redacted]
(100-25693)

June 18, 1963

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Director, FBI (100-3-99)
(40-3798)

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Glascock
1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Ryan

b6
b7C

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
TOPLEV
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ReNYlet 5-29-63.

You are authorized to approach Earl Browder under the provisions of the Toplev Program. Your approach may be made during his daily routine when he walks to the neighborhood store or, if it is determined that an approach on the street is not feasible, authority is granted to make the contact at Browder's residence.

Your approach should be made on a most cordial level and under no circumstances should you allow Browder to receive the impression you are pressing him for information or seeking formal "cooperation." It is suggested you attempt to solicit his opinion regarding the theoretical aspects of the current split between the Communist Parties (CP) of the Soviet Union and China. Consider comparing this development in the world communist movement with Browder's own expulsion from the CPUSA which he, himself, has indicated resulted from his premature espousal of the policy of coexistence, which in 1946 was considered right-wing deviationism. When you conduct this interview it is suggested you have in your possession recent communist publications which contain articles attempting to define and analyze the chasm in the international communist movement. If you deem it advisable, you may make these publications available to Browder for his review and thereafter you may seek his analysis of the articles as an excuse for further interviews.

Browder's history and activities in the communist movement indicate he is an extreme egotist. In your conversation with him you should give him every opportunity to appease this

Tolson _____
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Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
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Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

DR:dfm:mjh
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JUN 18 1963
COMM-FBI

SEE NOTE PAGE TWO

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Letter to New York
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
TOPLEV
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
100-3-99
40-3798

egotism by encouraging him to discuss his past positions and his personal beliefs. It is likely he will be more inclined to discuss matters of interest to the Bureau if he is allowed to keep himself "in the center of the stage."

Your attempt to eventually obtain the complete cooperation of Browder will only be successful if the contacts with him are thoroughly planned and developed on a long range basis. You must establish a firm relationship based on confidence before you specifically question him regarding matters and individuals involved with the clandestine activities of the CP during his period of leadership.

If this interview is not conducted within 45 days, follow instructions contained in Section 87 D (7) (e) XII, Manual of Instructions.

NOTE:

See memorandum Baumgardner to Sullivan, same caption, dated 6-17-63, DR:mjh.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)

DATE: 7/25/63

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - TOPLEV
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/61 BY [redacted]

ReBulet 6/18/63.

On 7/22/63, SAs JAMES P. HALLERON and PHILLIP M. BROOKS called at subject's residence, Apartment 3-F, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, N.Y., for the purpose of interviewing subject, previous efforts to meet him casually on the street having been unsuccessful. The agents immediately identified themselves when BROWDER answered the door and they thereupon asked if he could spare a few minutes of his time for a brief conversation. BROWDER stated that he was busily engaged in reading; however, he could spare some time and then cordially invited the agents in to the study of his apartment.

After a brief exchange of pleasantries, the agents explained that they had called upon BROWDER for the purpose of soliciting his opinion and viewpoints on the theoretical aspects of the current split between the Communist Parties of the Soviet Union and China. He replied that in March of this year he had given a lecture at Hofstra College on this subject and that his viewpoints were expressed in this lecture. He added that if the agents wished to obtain a transcript of the speech they could get it at the college. At this point interviewing agents suggested that possibly he had an original draft of this speech which he might consent to loan to the agents for their perusal. BROWDER furnished an eleven page typewritten draft of the lecture which he requested be returned as soon as possible. The agents agreed and advised they would return it within two or three days. Three Photostats of this document are being enclosed with copies of this letter.

③ - Bureau (Enclosure)
(1 - 40-3798)

1 - New York [redacted]
1 - New York (100-25693) #41

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ON THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT

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7 ② not p. 1
In the ensuing conversation, agents then took the opportunity to draw BROWDER out on his evaluation of the Sino-Soviet rift and he remarked that in his opinion a complete break now exists between the two Parties; however, he feels that China eventually will be isolated and will be forced to accede to the wishes of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). He explained this statement by saying that the Chinese CP was practically given its powers as a gift. They did not earn it or gain it through revolution and experience as the Russians did; therefore, they do not know how to accept the responsibilities in connection with it. They believe that everything will come to them the easy way. They lack the experience and leadership necessary to carry on their struggle effectively and in time they will come to see the light and return to the fold.

BROWDER added that at present the Chinese CP will have the support of the other Far Eastern CPs and possibly some support from the smaller European Parties, such as Albania, but this situation will not persist and the European Parties will be first to fall away from the Chinese camp.

③ BROWDER stated that he is currently retired and is looking forward to spending his last years reading and enjoying the company of his children and grandchildren. He does not attempt to do much writing any more and he keeps his lectures and public appearances to a bare minimum. He stated that he has had no direct association with the CP since his "purge" in 1946, and his only contacts have been a few of his old friends and colleagues when they became disillusioned and were ready to separate from the CP, and called on him for advice.

The agents, attempting to formulate a basis on which to question him in the future, asked him hypothetically what he would recommend to a former associate who might approach him asking for advice. He answered that his advice to them has been and would be:

- (1) Get out of the CP quickly and positively; make a clean, open and unequivocal break;
- (2) Do not seek a substitute for the CP;
- (3) Study American history and understand American economics and government before seeking activity in a political way.

BROWDER added that the word "Communist" has become an evil word and the Communist label is, in effect, political suicide. He noted that in building the CP in Poland, East Germany, and Hungary, the Party was not labelled but was given, in each case, a more acceptable title. He stated the word "Communist" today is poison.

Continuing in this vein, BROWDER mentioned that he was purged from the CP for advocating the same principles that KHRUSHCHEV is espousing today. He stated that if they had listened to him 17 years ago, they could have saved a lot of time and trouble. He noted that GOMULKA was imprisoned for the same thinking for which he, BROWDER, was purged but today GOMULKA has regained stature and is the leader of the CP in Poland.

① BROWDER stated that he has not considered himself to be a Communist for the last ten or twelve years and, although he has kept up with the various facets of Communism over the years by intensive reading, today he finds it difficult to read the voluminous material printed on the subject. He added that now he can expound more on the historical significance of happenings insofar as they fit in with his knowledge of things.

The interview with BROWDER lasted for at least an hour and was friendly and affable throughout. BROWDER was encouraged to expound his views and opinions on various matters and interviewing agents carefully courted his friendship and confidence.

During the lengthy conversation BROWDER touched on many subjects and for purposes of clarity, his views and comments are being set out substantially according to the topic discussed:

KHRUSHCHEV

4 KHRUSHCHEV is not a theoretician but is an excellent politician. He zigzags to pacify his opponents and is an expert at keeping everybody happy and in line. He occasionally steps back one pace but he always advances two. He does not have an overall theoretical plan such as STALIN or LENIN, but he makes up for this by his political acumen. He enjoys the backing of the Russian people, not on all issues; however, his backing is more substantial than any that his opponents can gather. He is now giving people a taste of some of the luxuries that have been promised for years; however, the Russian people's status cannot compare with the American way of living.

STALIN

STALIN was an absolute leader and "dictator." When the Comintern was dissolved by STALIN in 1943, the dissolution was complete. This was done not only as a political gesture to the Russian allies, but more to establish STALIN'S complete and absolute control over the Communist world. According to BROWDER, the Comintern had substantive restrictive powers and STALIN had to account to this body and abide by its rulings. In order to complete his "dictatorship" he had to erase the Comintern completely. The Cominform, which was later set up, had no power to vote or to check STALIN in any way. The Cominform was a rubber stamp subservient to STALIN'S wishes and dictates.

After the fall of HITLER, STALIN needed a formidable opponent or enemy to hold up to the Russian people in order to perpetuate his militaristic regime, so he chose the United States and used the United States as a target. In this manner he could divert the Russian labor and resources toward his own objectives.

POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR WAR

⑥ Both sides, Russia and the United States, BROWDER trusts, are fearful of an all-out nuclear war. Russia will go to the brink of war to gain an objective, however, in his opinion, they are aware that if a nuclear war is started no one will be the winner. What sense is there destroying capitalism this way if Communism is destroyed at the same time?

HUNGARIAN UPRISING

⑥ BROWDER termed the Hungarian uprising a "vicious and brutal" repression, possibly done by KHRUSHCHEV to save his possible ouster. After the uprising KHRUSHCHEV immediately made amends by pouring millions in economic aid to rebuild the country and obtain the good will of the people. More aid was given to Hungary than any other country and Hungary is better off for it today.

BERLIN

⑥ Berlin is a matter of principle with the Russians. BROWDER conceded that the Berlin wall does not enhance the Communist image in the world but for the Russians it was a necessity. While there was open access between East and West Germany, too many people fled

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to the West and East Germany was losing at least a billion dollars a year in refugees, which consisted of professional and skilled workers. If the wall had not been built, Germany would have been lost to the Soviets. The Soviets realize the value of Germany, not so much for its natural resources as for the technical know-how of its people. BROWDER agreed that German scientists, absorbed by Russia after the war, are responsible for Soviet advancements in nuclear and space projects.

CUBA

① BROWDER is familiar with the old time Party in Cuba where he had many followers. He did not expound further on this nor was he pressed on this subject at this time.

CP, USA

② BROWDER stated that the CP, USA, today is ineffective. In 1950, the dues-paying membership was 5,000 which consisted of the hard core, people who would leave the CP only by going to the grave. Since that time many have died and the CP has not done any substantial recruiting.

In 1944, under BROWDER, there were 100,000 members paying dues and many additional followers. Many of them left when he was "purged."

The Soviets, in his estimation, have given up all hope of ever "subverting" the United States. They realize the United States is enjoying many socialistic benefits. The Russians are promised the rewards of socialism but they have not yet realized many benefits of it. They are promised "pie in the sky" whereas the Americans are enjoying the benefits of the "pie."

Under KHRUSHCHEV, the Russians are beginning to enjoy some of the fruits of success and some luxuries, although the Cold War has been an enormous strain on the economy. Part of what was formerly used for military power under STALIN, is now being diverted to ease the economic strain on the people.

FINALE

/// The interview was concluded with the prospect in view of establishing a firm, cordial relationship with BROWDER. At no time during the interview was BROWDER challenged on any point,

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trusting that he would be talkative and expound on his knowledge of the CP. BROWDER was friendly and amenable throughout. Although he initially stated he was busy and could spare only a few moments, he appeared to enjoy the conversation and made no effort to cut the interview short. He stated that he would be willing to meet with the agents at some time in the future, possibly within two or three weeks and stated, when asked, that he would be willing to analyze any articles that interviewing agents might bring to his attention, provided it would not be too time consuming or burdensome.

In view of BROWDER'S friendly, cordial manner he will be recontacted within a period of 45 days. The interview will be carefully planned and material will be brought to him for his analysis. The Bureau will be promptly advised of the results of this recontact.

Earl Browder.
 Apartment 3-F
 7 Highland Place
 Yonkers 5, N. Y.

ON THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT.

By Earl Browder.

(At Hofstra University Students' Council,
 Hempstead, N.Y., on March 21st, 1963).

I.

At the East German Communist Party Congress in January, the fraternal delegate from the Chinese party made a speech denouncing Tito and the Yugoslav party. He was hooted off the platform by the German Communists. With this event the long cold-war within world communism between Peking and Moscow reached an intensity unexampled by such conflicts since Trotsky was expelled. After six years of alternating flare-ups and compromises, each more violent than the preceding one, the conflict approached culmination. The Yugoslav radio quotes Tito ^{as} accusing the Chinese Communists of following a "Chenghsia Kahn policy" which makes it a great danger to world peace. "With a population of 700 million in China", Tito is quoted as saying, "they estimate that at least 300 million Chinese would survive a nuclear war, whereas there would be few survivors among other nations." (Quoted from NY Times in New Leader of Feb. 4).

I assume that my audience is well-acquainted with the current struggle, and some of you with the voluminous books that have been recently published about it. I recommend as the best of these: on its ideological aspects, SOCIALISM AND WAR by Edvard Kardelj, Vice-president of Yugoslavia (Methuen, 1961), answering the Chinese theoretical arguments more deeply than the pragmatic Russians have seen fit to do. On its political aspects from the Western viewpoint, probably the soundest and most complete review is THE SINO-SOVIET CONFLICT 1956-1961 by Donald S. Zagoria (Princeton Press, 1962). For the Chinese position, undoubtedly the best in English is THE OTHER SIDE OF THE RIVER: RED CHINA TODAY by Edgar Snow.

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(Random House, 1962) which presents the Chinese case faithfully and more convincingly for Western readers than the Chinese do.

Please do not expect me, in this brief lecture, to compete with these profound, scholarly, and detailed books. What I can contribute to your deeper understanding of this historic conflict is to put it into a somewhat broader setting, to add a few background facts which have been little publicized, to give some hints as to its extraordinary complexity and flux, to contribute a personal anecdote or two, to trace a pattern which seems to show the same forces operating in Chinese policy as also deeply influencing the U.S.A. and the Soviet Union, and finally to suggest that these things emphasize the world-historical importance of the conflict under examination.

III.

As the Sino-Soviet conflict appears today it is the ultra-left ideology of Mao Tse-tung fighting the pragmatic Khrushchev, accusing him of the right-wing revisionism typified by Tito. That is, the conflict appears to be ideological in cause and essence. But cast a glance backward to 15 years ago, and we find that Mao and Tito are in conflict with Moscow, BUT with Mao as the right-winger and Tito at the extreme left. Since 1950 Tito and Mao have exchanged positions as the two extremes of the communist ideological spectrum. Mao's movement to the left and Tito's to the right can both, of course, be explained without too much difficulty--but they cannot be explained as the struggle of ideas, only as ideas being changed, and even transformed to an opposite pole, under pressure of changing circumstances. Nor can Moscow's conflict with both be explained by ideology. Ideas and their systems are weapons in all the conflicts, but no more explain them than planes, tanks, and guns explain a war between nations. The force

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at work here go deeper than ideology, and themselves serve to determine and change ideologies.

Mao is fighting to get Khrushchev removed from the No.1 position in the Soviet party and government. From this an observer might conclude, as many have, that Mao is a Stalinist and rebelling against Khrushchev's destalinization policies. That this is a superficial judgement, however, is indicated by the fact that the roots of the Sino-Soviet conflict antedate both Mao and Khrushchev, and go back to Stalin's era when he first decisively intervened in Chinese party affairs to secure the removal of its secretary, Li Li-san, a leftist who demanded Soviet military aid against Chiang Kai-shek in late 1929 or early 1930. Stalin secured the removal of Li Li-san very quickly and easily, but Khrushchev today has not the means to handle Mao in the same way. In both cases, of course, there are reasons to believe that the activist Chinese policy received strong encouragement from Moscow circles, out of power but hoping to come back with Chinese help; in 1928-1930 these were the defeated Trotskyites and their friends while in 1956-1957 it was the neo-Stalinists (Molotov, etc.). But in both cases the Russian factions were merely using a recognized if long-quiescent Sino-Soviet conflict.

Zagoria's book mentions (p.323) that in 1960 when Moscow was avoiding open polemics with the Chinese, they used the friendly press in other countries to attack the Chinese policy as "Trotskyite". He comments that "this Soviet technique of employing fraternal parties to criticize other communist parties when the Russians would prefer not to do it themselves is a familiar one", and mentions that Stalin used a French Communist leader "to criticize the American communist leader, Earl Browder, soon after the end of World War II."

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Zagoria is in error only as to the time (it was before the end of the war), and as to the identity of the agent (it was Jacques Duclos, not Thorez). Had he followed this lead further, he would have found a much-ignored and important page in Sino-Soviet relations. I refer to Stalin's attempt to remove Mao from the scene in 1948, in a similar manner, just before the Chinese Communists took over power.

This time it was the Indian Communist Party which acted as Stalin's agent. It had itself been purged of its war-time leaders, headed by Puran Chandra Joshi, on the specific charge of "Browderism" as expressed in support of Nehru. The leftist leaders who replaced Joshi in turn launched a violent campaign against Mao Tse-tung as being guilty of "Browderism" (Mao's slogan of "new democracy", the shelving of "dictatorship of the proletariat", the appeal to the bourgeoisie to enter the united front, etc.), and of "Titoism" (rejection of Moscow's control of their inner affairs). This Anti-Mao campaign lasted for almost two years, and was called off by the Cominform at the moment when Mao's armies were negotiating possession of Peking and Chiang Kai-shek was evacuating to Taiwan. The Indian party apologized to Mao after he was in power, and Mao praised the Indian party. It is incredible that the Indian leaders launched such a campaign without good reason to believe that Stalin supported them.

While Stalin's "cold war" against Mao in Asia fizzled out, his hot war against the Maoist influence in Europe was carried to the bitter end. It is generally forgotten nowadays that Mao's influence in Europe was great in 1945-50, when his policy was to the extreme right of communist politics. In Eastern and Southern Europe after the war, the general position of local communist parties was typified by Cominform in Poland, that is, it was "right-wing revisionist" as it

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was later called (indistinguishable from "Browderism" in America) which was then the "orthodoxy" of the final manifesto of the Cominform. The chief exception was Tito and Yugoslavia, who took a leftist position. When Moscow began to crack down on the rightist trend Mao's influence was great; it was expressed outstandingly in the fact that all the new communist regimes called themselves "new democratic" borrowing the term from Mao's war-time book, CHINA'S NEW DEMOCRACY, which reached Europe through its publication in America, not through Moscow. Mao's influence angered Stalin, who moved to purge the European parties by setting up the Communist Information Bureau, or "Cominform". Stalin's deputy in the Cominform was Andrei Zhdanov.

Zhdanov joined forces with Tito in the first Cominform Conference, as the only member not embarrassed by systematic public commitment to "the New Democracy". Tito, under Zhdanov's incitement, criticized the Italian and French communists for not seizing power at the end of the war, when the old regime was in ruins, when the bourgeoisie was split with its strongest sector discredited by collaboration with Mussolini and Hitler, when the working class held arms from the resistance struggle (which had been supplied by America). Zhdanov said nothing to soften the blow. Thus the whole "right revisionist" trend in the communist parties was thrown into confusion and the way opened for Stalin's purge. Tito emerged as a major figure with enormous prestige, but Stalin could not tolerate any "major figure" in the communist world beside himself. When Tito refused to be a satellite, he was the first to be dramatically expelled as a heretic. He was the first victim of the purge he helped to set in motion.

Stalin's campaign to purge the right-wing communist leaders in Europe met heavy resistance. But Stalin's armies were in occupation

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of the countries, and soon special tribunals were set up, before which the recalcitrant leaders were haled on charges of treason. The most important of the trials were in Prague, Buda Pest, and Sofia, where the leaders were found guilty and hanged. In Warsaw Gomulka escaped the gallows by a hair's-breadth, and received instead a long prison term. The trials were later, in the destalinization period, admitted to have been crude frame-ups. For instance, Noel Field, a gentle Quaker who had worked throughout the war helping communist refugees, was turned into an ominous "imperialist agent" acquaintance with whom automatically sufficed for a guilty verdict. A defendant in Buda Pest, turning "state's evidence", testified that he had been schooled in treason through classes held in U.S. Consulates, with "Browder's books" as text in Hungarian, published by the U.S. State Department. And all were accused of "Titoism", which meant refusal to obey Moscow's orders. Thus "right" and "left" were made equal, indistinguishable, and treason to socialism--which meant to Stalin.

Stalin's victory was costly--and incomplete. It pushed Tito, who was outside the range of Stalin's gallows, heavily to the right, and in a few years he became the hero of all underground resistance to Stalin, as the symbol of resistance and survival. Even the Chinese communists, always timid before Stalin, gave discreet but effective support to Tito, and later to the right-wing resurgence in Poland and Hungary--until the upheavals in late 1956 which, in combination with their own internal troubles, brought about Mao's sudden shift from right to extreme left.

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III.

Interestingly enough, it was an American journalist, Anna Louise Strong, who served to reveal that the long-muted Sino-Soviet conflict was again emerging after the war. Miss Strong had been a sympathetic reporter of Chinese communism since 1927, the period when I was first in China, and spent many years there. In 1945-46, after the end of the war, she visited the Communist leaders in Yennan, from where she sent a report to the American magazine Amerasia (July 1946) based on a lengthy ^{interview} with Liu Shao-chi. Liu spoke of the dogmatism of Moscow-trained leaders which made their leadership unsuited to China, he quoted Mao to the effect that "dogma is of less value than cow-dung, which can at least be used as fertilizer", and he claimed that the thought of Mao Tse-tung had for the first time adjusted Marxism-Leninism to the reality of China, and of Asia and the dependent countries in general. Miss Strong expanded this study into a book which in 1949 was accepted for publication in the "New Democracies" of Europe, with the significant exception of Yugoslavia where she was told that it must first be approved by Zhdanov. After returning to America, where her book was published, Miss Strong started back to China via Moscow. But in Moscow she was held up by unexplained difficulties for some weeks, and then was suddenly put under arrest as "a notorious American spy", and deported back to America. Her book thereafter was not published in Europe, but only in India. There can be no doubt that Stalin's objections to the Chinese party line, which Miss Strong had widely publicized, was the real and only cause of her arrest as a "spy"; she was rehabilitated later after Stalin's death, and only then could return to China where she has lived since.

I myself came to know some of the present-day leaders of China

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when I worked among them in 1927-1928; a few of these survived the massacres by Chiang Kai-shek, and joined Mao in Yennan during and after The Long March. They communicated with me as the secretary of the American party; Mao Tse-tung, Chao En-lai, and Chu Teh, wrote letters to me on June 24, 1937, which were published at the time (see my book *THE PEOPLES' FRONT*, 1938, pp. 316-318). Chao En-lai referred to the earlier time when he wrote:

"Comrade, do you remember the Chinese comrades who worked with you in China ten years ago? I am among those who made your acquaintance at that time. Unfortunately Comrade Sou Chao-jen, whom you knew best, is no more with us. He died of sickness in 1929, when he was working under the most difficult conditions."

Thereafter I had frequent communications with Mao and his leading group. During World War II, Mao transmitted to President Roosevelt, through my hands, detailed reports on the diversion of Chiang Kai-shek's armies from the Japanese front, for use to blockade the Communist areas. I was later told that the American military in China confirmed these reports. It was at this time Roosevelt called for an end to the civil war in China and the establishment of a coalition regime to include the Communists. I was invited to the State Department by Sumner Welles, and given a written statement of this policy with permission to cable it to Chungking.

In October, 1944, Mao sent me his famous booklet *CHINA'S NEW DEMOCRACY*, translated by Michael Lindsay (now, I understand, Lord Birken). He asked me to publish it in America, and authorized me to edit it to exclude anything that might interfere with its widest circulation. I published it without change, merely adding a brief introduction. Finally, in 1945, Roosevelt's influence caused the inclusion of the Communist, Tung Pi-wu, in the Chinese delegation to

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the San Francisco Conference of the United Nations. When Tung Pi-tu arrived in New York enroute to the Conference, he met me to ask my opinion on some problems, and to give me a cipher for confidential communication with Mao Tse-tung; the "purge" drive against me was under way at that time, but only after Tung Pi-tu had talked with the Russian delegation in San Francisco did he break off communication with me.

IV.

Until 1957, then, Mao Tse-tung and his associates at the head of the Chinese Communist Party, were on the defensive against Moscow's pressure as "right-wing deviationists". At the Moscow Conference of the parties, in November 1957, Mao suddenly changed his course to the leftward. With subtlety characteristic of the old Mao, but less and less to be noted since, he began his offensive against the Russians by demanding that they accept the leading position and responsibility for the whole communist world. In the classical tradition, Mao did thrice offer the crown of world leadership to Khrushchev, which Khrushchev did thrice refuse, for the offer was conditional upon acceptance of Mao as co-ruler. The zig-zag rise of the Sino-Soviet conflict to ever new heights since then has been well reported and is familiar to all students of world politics.

It is very difficult to interpret Mao's ultra-left policy since 1957 as an expression of China's material or political interests; it is more easily understood as an irrational response to her new and unfamiliar position, combining an intoxicating sense of power with a frustrating mountain of difficulties. Her difficulties are, first of all, the inevitable ones of an underdeveloped country striving for modern industrialization. These have been compounded by mistaken

efforts to find short-cuts to utopia, the most disastrous of which was the "communes", designed to "socialize" a primitive agricultural economy in one "great leap forward". The Russians, only then awakening to the fact that their own more limited collectivization had proved to be a blind-alley, immediately foresaw the collapse of the Chinese "communes", and warned Mao against them, without effect. Old Chinese grievances against the Russians, such as Stalin's stubborn lack of confidence in Mao up to the very moment he came to power, their withdrawal from Korea handing that tough burden to the Chinese, the limited material aid while Moscow was giving equal amounts to non-communist countries, etc., were multiplied when all the material aid was withdrawn by Khrushchev in retaliation against the Chinese campaign to force Moscow to change its leadership. When China's attack on India was justified by Peking on grounds that would equally apply to Chinese seizure of Eastern Siberia, the Sino-Soviet conflict would appear to have passed the point of complete rupture.

What strength there is in Mao's position derives chiefly from his use of Moscow's old dogmas, ^{and} used in purging the European parties and Tito, against Khrushchev's present-day policies. The strength of Khrushchev lies in his pragmatic realism in recognizing the stalemate of military power, the suicidal nature of atomic war, the necessity of seeking co-existence in a modus vivendi. Mao is gambling on the ultimate victory of Moscow's old dogmas over its new realism and common sense.

The present policy of China appears to be madness. Before we jump to the conclusion that it is incurable madness, however, we need to remember that both the super-powers, the Soviet Union and America, suffered from analogous lapses from rationality since the

end of the war. In the Soviet Union it was the last and maddest period of Stalin, and particularly that known as Zhdanovism. In America it was the period of the reign of Joe McCarthy and McCarthyism, which gave this country a real "witches' sabbath" of unreason, ended only when the Senator collided head-on with the Army. If China has gone mad, she has the excuse of the previous example of the Soviet Union and America; and since both Moscow and Washington finally recovered from the madness, we should not give up hope for Peking too quickly.

The three countries, with their different histories, cultures, politics, and economic systems, display great differences also, of course, in their particular forms of national hysteria. But despite these differences, I suggest that the three cases have something in common which could help us understand and cure the illness. All three emerged on the stage of world politics, in the full sense, only after World War II, and find their new role somewhat strange and frightening. All three are full of an exhilarating sense of possessing new and unprecedented power. And yet all three have experienced frustrations that have been shocking to them; the Soviet Union in finding that the world does not obey the formula² of Marxism-Leninism; America in finding that world problems do not submit themselves to the solvent of dollars; and China in finding that political power does not by itself serve to produce modern industrialization to order, and that "big brother" Russia is not an unmixed blessing. All must learn to live with their frustrations, as the beginning of learning how to live in the same world with each other.

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SAC, New York (100-25693)

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Director, FBI (100-3-99)(40-3798)

1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Ryan

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
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EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

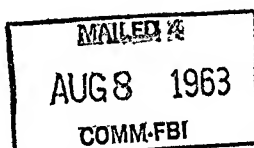
Reurlet 7/25/63 setting forth the results of your initial interview of the subject.

Browder's receptiveness to your initial contact is undoubtedly due in a large measure to the thorough planning you afforded the interview and is a credit to the ability of the interviewing Agents. You are authorized to continue your contacts with Browder. Insure that you have established a firm relationship based on confidence before you specifically question him regarding matters and individuals involved with the clandestine activities of the Communist Party during his period of leadership. You are reminded that the Bureau desires your efforts to obtain the full cooperation of Browder be planned on a long-term basis.

Keep the Bureau advised of all pertinent details.

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my
Mr. W. C. Sullivan

3/7/63

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Glascock
1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Ryan

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
TOPLEV
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

✓ EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
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Earl Russell Browder, a Communist Party (CP) member since 1921, served as the Party's leader until his expulsion for right-wing deviationism in 1946. He was General Secretary of the Communist Party, USA (CPUSA), from 1930 until 1944 when he was elected President of the reconstituted Communist Political Association. In recent years Browder has made statements critical of the CPUSA and of Soviet Russia; but, in 1959, he refused to be interviewed by Bureau Agents and, as recent as March, 1961, he [redacted] before a Federal grand jury. b3

At our request the New York Office conducted an extensive review of Browder's case file and, on 6/18/63, we approved an approach to Browder under our Toplev Program. New York was instructed that this approach should be conducted with a long-range objective and Browder should not be given the impression he is being pressed for information.

On 7/22/63 Browder was contacted at his residence in Yonkers, New York, by Special Agents. After first indicating he was busy, Browder stated he could spare some time and he invited the Agents into his apartment. In the ensuing conversation which lasted for at least an hour Browder warmed up to the interview and his following comments may be of interest:

(1) Browder stated he has not considered himself to be a communist for the last 10 to 12 years and, although he has kept up with the various facets of communism over the years by intensive reading, he now finds it difficult to absorb the voluminous material printed on the subject.

(2) In reference to the Sino-Soviet rift, Browder stated he feels China eventually will be isolated and will be forced to accede to the wishes of the CP of the

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Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
TOPLEV
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
100-3-99
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Soviet Union. He said the Chinese communists lack the experience and leadership necessary to carry on their struggle effectively and in time they will return to the fold.

(3) Browder said his only contacts with the CP in recent years have been with old friends and colleagues who approached him when they became disillusioned and were ready to separate from the Party. He said the following would be his advice to a communist approaching him who was disillusioned with the Party:

(a) Get out of the CP quickly and positively; make a clean, open and unequivocal break.

(b) Do not seek a substitute for the CP.

(c) Study American History and understand American Economics and Government before seeking activity in a political way.

(4) Browder stated Khrushchev is not a theoretician but he is an excellent politician. Khrushchev will zigzag to pacify his opponents and is an expert at keeping everybody happy and in line. Khrushchev occasionally steps back one pace but always advances two. He enjoys the backing of the Russian people although he does not have an over-all theoretical plan such as Stalin or Lenin. Khrushchev makes up for his weaknesses by his political acumen.

(5) Russia will go to the brink of a nuclear war to gain an objective. However, Browder stated Russia is aware that no one would be a winner of such a war.

(6) Browder termed the Hungarian Uprising a "vicious and brutal" repression and speculated it had been instigated by Khrushchev to save him from ouster.

(7) Browder expressed the opinion that German scientists, absorbed by Russia after the war, are responsible for Soviet advancements in nuclear and space projects. He

Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
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EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
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said Berlin is a matter of principle with the Russians and the Soviets realize the value of Germany not so much for its natural resources as for the technical know-how of its people. The Berlin wall was constructed because East Germany was losing at least a billion dollars a year worth of professional and skilled workers to the west.

(8) Browder characterized the CPUSA today as ineffective. He said in 1944 under his leadership there were 100,000 members paying dues and many additional followers. In 1950, according to Browder, the dues-paying membership was 5,000 which consisted of hard core people who would leave the Party only by going to the grave.

Browder made available to the interviewing Agents a copy of a speech entitled "On the Sino-Soviet Conflict" which was delivered by him at Hofstra University, Hempstead, New York, in March, 1963. It is interesting to note that in this speech Browder states that in 1945 the influence of President Roosevelt caused the inclusion of a Chinese communist in the Chinese delegation to the San Francisco founding conference of the United Nations. Browder states that this individual stopped off in New York to confer with him when he was en route to the conference and at this time gave him a cipher for confidential communications with the Chinese communist leader, Mao Tse-tung. In this instance apparently Browder admitted publicly he was in coded communication with the Chinese communist leadership in 1945.

At the conclusion of the interview, Browder indicated a willingness to meet with the Agents in the future and offered to analyze any articles on communism that the Agents brought to his attention.

The New York Office plans to recontact Browder within 45 days. When it is believed Browder's complete confidence has been obtained, New York is under instructions to attempt to elicit information regarding matters and individuals known to Browder to be involved with the clandestine activities of the CP during his period of leadership.

Action:

None. For information.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99) (100-403795) ⁴⁰⁻³⁷⁹⁸

DATE: 9/13/63

FROM : ^{J.Y.M.} SAC, NEW YORK [] (100-25693) (P)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - TOPLEV
IS - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM - C

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DATE 12/20/07 BY []

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ReBulet 8/8/63.

On 8/27/63, SA PHILLIP M. BROOKS contacted EARL RUSSELL BROWDER by telephone to arrange a convenient time for a reinterview. BROWDER was very friendly and stated that he would be free that afternoon and that, if the agents so desired, he would see them at any time. An appointment was then set for 2:00 P.M., on 8/27/63 at BROWDER'S residence.

SA BROOKS and SA JAMES P. HALLERON called on BROWDER at the appointed time and were cordially received into his library where an interview ensued, which interview lasted for approximately one hour and forty-five minutes. A conversation of a general nature took up the initial portion of the interview, after which the agents discreetly led the discussion to current events and eventually to BROWDER'S views and comments on various facets of his career. BROWDER appeared relaxed and perfectly willing to talk at length with the agents.

The first topic discussed was the nuclear test ban treaty. BROWDER quickly stated that he was entirely in agreement with the pact and that in his estimation it should have been accomplished a long time ago. He added that although the test ban is a step in the right direction, the Cold War, though temporarily pushed to the background still exists and will continue to exist until a definite settlement is reached on Germany. He hoped that the fear of an all-out nuclear war and its devastating destruction will eventually lead to an agreement between the great powers.

Agents at this point questioned BROWDER generally regarding the years he spent in China and the Soviet Union with the view in mind of determining whether his time spent in those countries was in the nature

- (3) - Bureau (RM) (100-3798)
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1 - New York []
1 - New York (100-25693) #41
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EX-103

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8 OCT 9 1963
Memo Baumgardner to
W.C. Sullivan
9-26-63 DR/abm

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of an international assignment and, if so, by whose direction. In response he stated that he regarded the Chinese people highly as a result of his association with them. In 1926 he "worked" in Moscow in the trade union movement and in early 1927 he was selected by the Comintern to go to China to assist in the trade union movement in China. He stated that he had previously been invited to China by CHIANG Kai Shek but that the Japanese delegate to the Comintern was the individual who finally recommended his name to the Comintern for this assignment. BROWDER added that he had never met CHIANG Kai Shek but that he knew CHIANG had studied in Moscow and was at one time considered by the Russians to be one of their "fair-haired boys." It was later when CHIANG decided to become a leader on his own that he quit the Russian camp and built his own empire with the aid of "American dollars." BROWDER worked indirectly for CHIANG in the trade union movement during his stay in China in 1927; however, he never came in contact with him.

When CHIANG came into power in China he was a ruthless leader who eventually executed all opposition including many of BROWDER'S friends. In removing all opposition to his tenure of power during his twenty years as ruler of China, CHIANG indirectly paved the way for the eventual take-over of the Communists, for in destroying his opposition he also did away with all forces that stood in the Communists' way, thereby giving the Communists an opportunity to strengthen and develop their forces.

During his year in China, BROWDER was active in the Pan Pacific Council and was editor of a magazine. When asked directly if his term in China was in the nature of an international assignment from the Comintern, BROWDER did not hesitate to answer in the affirmative. BROWDER was questioned at this point if other Communist Party people received international assignments. The name of CHARLES KRUMBEIN was mentioned and BROWDER stated he had known KRUMBEIN from the early 1920's and admitted that KRUMBEIN had also received an assignment of an international nature from the Comintern. He did not specify the nature of the assignment; however, he described KRUMBEIN as being a good trade unionist who had done considerable work in the unions for the CP in the Chicago area.

In discussing the Comintern, BROWDER was asked whether the various Communist Parties throughout the world received financial support from the Soviet Union. In response he stated

that the Comintern aided the parties in various countries and that during the 1920's and early 1930's the Comintern sent money to the CP, USA to aid it in its cause. He stated that when he became chief of the CP, USA, he discontinued the acceptance of this money and told the Comintern that no further assistance was needed as it was his belief that an organization to be effective must stand on its own and support itself. The CP, USA thereafter forwarded its dues to the Comintern, sometimes by directly aiding the CP in some foreign land.

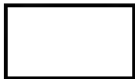
BROWDER stated that he did not know the extent of the financial assistance given the CP, USA during the period nor how it was delivered to the party; however, he stated that the transfer of funds presented no problems and could be effectuated easily. He did not elaborate on this point as he preferred to leave the impression that during his term of power the CP, USA was able to operate independent of any aid from the Russians or the Comintern and thus was able to voice its opinions at meetings of the Comintern. When speaking of financial assistance from the Comintern and from the Russians, he did not state that they were one and the same; however, he made no specific effort to differentiate between the two.

BROWDER stated that the Comintern met irregularly but that he sat in on most of the meetings during his term of leadership and presented the American viewpoint on matters before that body. He said that the lower echelon of the Russian delegation and some of the German representatives opposed his views most of the time, however, the higher level Russians usually agreed with him and he was able to put across his point. He added that he had never met STALIN on an individual, personal basis but had spoken to him only at large gatherings. He added that in this respect he was always considered somewhat of a heretic; if STALIN did not ask to see him, he was not going to ask for an interview with STALIN.

When asked concerning various schools in Moscow, he answered that the Comintern sponsored many schools and that these were usually run with financial backing from the Russians. No specific schools or training sessions were mentioned and interviewing agents deemed it advisable to keep the discussion on a general tone in order to establish a firm relationship based on confidence before questioning him specifically on any matters.

Regarding the CP, USA, BROWDER stated that the party reached its greatest strength during the war. The greatest buildup came during the depression in the late 1930's when the CP was able to interest the masses in its trade union policy. He stated that from

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experience it was determined that the American people could not be sold on socialism but needed some other inducement to be drawn into the Communist movement. The depression was a great factor in affording the CP an opportunity to sell itself by way of its trade union policies. This accounted for a great number of new members at this time. Later, the CP reached its greatest strength on the basis of its anti-Fascist stand. Subsequent to the war and after BROWDER'S expulsion from the CP, the CP,USA began to decline. Its loss in membership was great and, in his estimation, the CP,USA today has declined to an ineffectual organization. He stated that he can see no reason why the Russians would go to any extent to aid the CP,USA today as the party has no following or any means to aid the Russians to any extent. He remarked that if the Russians wish to promote any policy today, all they have to do is release their proposals to the U.S. press and they receive more free coverage than they could ever hope to attain through the CP.

The name MOLOTOV was introduced into the discussion and BROWDER stated that he had only one closed session meeting with MOLOTOV and that this was after his (BROWDER'S) expulsion from the CP in 1946. Shortly after being expelled BROWDER travelled to Moscow to arrange to represent various Russian publishing houses in the U.S. At this time MOLOTOV was meeting in Paris with JAMES BYRNES, then U.S. Secretary of State, and representatives of the major powers. MOLOTOV learned that BROWDER was in Moscow and sent word to Moscow for BROWDER to remain there until MOLOTOV returned. BROWDER waited for six weeks until the Paris conference was over and when MOLOTOV returned to Moscow he immediately received BROWDER in conference at 11:00 P.M. BROWDER remained in conference with MOLOTOV for approximately two hours during which time MOLOTOV listened while BROWDER presented his ideas on why the USSR should stick to a policy of co-existence and not revert to the old line. BROWDER stated that MOLOTOV listened but made no statements or commitments other than to answer one question put to him by BROWDER. This question was whether the Comintern was going to be reinstituted. According to BROWDER, MOLOTOV answered, "Definitely not."

In BROWDER'S opinion, MOLOTOV was inclined to be more relaxed in his ideas on pushing the CP line until the six weeks meeting with BYRNES in Paris. BROWDER feels that BYRNES' position and policies were instrumental in causing MOLOTOV to change his attitude toward the United States and in forcing MOLOTOV to adopt an attitude of strict adherence to the CP line. BROWDER stated

that he considered BYRNES to be "impossible" and that in his opinion, if BYRNES had remained in a policy-making position for many more years, he would have precipitated a war between the United States and Russia.

Regarding KHRUSHCHEV'S visit to TITO, BROWDER stated that KHRUSHCHEV was using this as a means of educating the Russian people and convincing them of the effectiveness of the policy of peaceful coexistence. He said that what China is today, the USSR was fifteen years ago and by proving his point to the Russian people he may hope to enlighten the Chinese on the policy of coexistence. In his opinion, the meeting between KHRUSHCHEV and TITO was planned to show to the world that the Russians are sincere in their new policy.

BROWDER stated that he was never asked to rejoin the CP; however, he tried to be readmitted on two occasions, each time he was refused. He pointed out that his purpose in seeking readmission was to test the party's decision in that if he were readmitted then the party would be admitting that they were wrong in expelling him in the first place. He laughed and said that the party realized this and would have nothing to do with him.

Interviewing agents at one point remarked on the sizeable library he had collected over the years whereupon he stated that the books were all sold and he was waiting for the buyer to pick them up. He added that the books were bought by one individual and that this person, whose name was not mentioned, had contracted for BROWDER'S personal archives upon his death. He stated that in arranging for the disposition of his archives he had made the purchase of the books by the same individual as a prerequisite.

Shortly before the termination of the interview, the subject of BROWDER'S family and their status in life became a topic of conversation. He pointed out that his three sons are all professors of mathematics on a college level and are furthering their studies in the scientific field. He stated that all three sons were graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT), each having gone through MIT on full scholarships. Two of them have received Ph.D., degrees in Mathematics from MIT and the other obtained his Ph.D., in Mathematics from one of the Ivy League colleges. This year two of the sons will attend Princeton University on a grant, one of them will remain on at Princeton in the Mathematics Department; the other has received an appointment at the University of Chicago. The third son has received a grant for two years of research at the University of California in Berkeley, California. BROWDER noted that his oldest son had gone to Russia this summer as a representative of one of the American academies of mathematic scientists to an international meeting

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of mathematicians. He added that his son did not desire to go to Russia but felt obligated to go since his selection as delegate was considered a high honor.

During the interview agents were cautious to present general questions to BROWDER in order for him to freely expound on his experience within the CP and to obtain his comments on current events. At no time did agents challenge his remarks but interposed friendly arguments to further encourage and stimulate the discussion. This attitude was accepted by BROWDER for during interview he readily accepted points of discussion and spoke freely and in friendly tones.

At the conclusion of this contact and while agents prepared to leave Mr. BROWDER'S library, he was once again thanked for his time and cordial acceptance of the agents. Mr. BROWDER expressed the thought that he "enjoyed" the visit and would meet with contacting agents if they could listen to an "old heretic."

As agents were leaving BROWDER'S residence, he volunteered that he would be available for such discussions in the future. It was agreed to telephonically contact BROWDER for meeting in the near future.

BROWDER will be recontacted within the next 45 days.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (~~100-3-99~~)

DATE: 9/20/63

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - TOPLEV
INTERNAL SECURITY - CEARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
(INTERNAL SECURITY)
(OO: NY)ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/99 BY

ReNYlet 9/13/63.

Attached is an article by JAMES A. WECHSLER which was printed in the "New York Post," 9/19/63 concerning EARL BROWDER.

In view of the fact that BROWDER has been interviewed on two occasions under the Toplev Program and the article refers to the fact "that, a few weeks ago, representatives of a U.S. intelligence agency finally came to him (BROWDER) to solicit his opinions," this article is being forwarded to the Bureau for information.

- ③ - Bureau (Enc-1)(RM)
(1 - 40-3798)
- 1 - New York
- 1 - New York (100-25693)

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A Key Witness

JAMES A. WECHSLER

Once upon a time Earl Browder was America's number-one Communist. In 1946, after nearly 17 years of service as general secretary of the Communist Party, he became the victim of the Russian-ruled machine he had led. On a signal from Moscow, transmitted by French hatchet-man Jacques Duclos, the Communist National Committee expelled him "for betraying the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to the side of the class enemy—American monopoly capital."

In retrospect this gibberish has some momentous meaning. For it was Moscow's announcement that the era of U. S.-Russian collaboration was over, that the cold war was on and that "Browderism," a premature form of Khrushchevism, was the deadly heresy.

And so the man who had been the local Communist hero throughout the Popular Front heyday of the 1930s, who remained at his post during the Nazi-Soviet pact and reassembled the Communist legions for the "all-out war effort" when Hitler turned on Stalin, was ruthlessly discarded. His real crime was in clinging to the view that the wartime alliance should be preserved, and that the U. S. Communists should not embark on a crusade against the Truman Administration. Stalin had reverted to the old course; Browder's head had to roll.

Now he is 72 years old. He has three sons, all of them engaged in mathematical research. He has four grandchildren and two more on the way. His hair is graying, his manner is mellow, and he has no dreams of any personal political future.

"I suppose," he remarks whimsically, "that if I had been executed by Stalin in 1946, I would be rehabilitated now." Yet he seems remarkably free of bitterness, frustration or dogmatism. When one asks him whether he has contemplated writing his memoirs, he brushes aside the inquiry by saying that he doubts anyone would care, and that he is more interested in the future of his grandchildren than in the exploration of his own past.

* * *

This congenial Kansan who so long provided a native face for the Soviet-run Communist operation here leads a quiet, modest existence in Yonkers. His alleged desertion to "American monopoly capital" has brought him no conspicuous financial dividends. He has never exploited his Bolshevik career through lurid memoirs, nor has he abandoned his belief in the ultimate validity of the socialist concept. But he is convinced that new and great economic changes will come, not through the plottings of any radical sect, but through the pragmatic processes of U. S. politics.

What is more important is his view of the Russian-Chinese conflict. To this issue he brings special knowledge and background; it is a relief to report that, a few weeks ago, representatives of a U. S. intelligence agency finally came to him to solicit his opinions. For Browder was not merely a long-time figure in the Communist world, who knows the names and numbers of most of the players without a scorecard. In the late 1920s he was a Comintern emissary in China. He can speak with a certain informed authority, unlike most of those who have minimized the dimensions of the Moscow-Peking struggle.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

20 NEW YORK POST

Date: 9/19/63
Edition: LATE CITY
Author: JAMES A. WECHSLER
Editor: DOROTHY SCHIFF
Title: CP, USA-TOPLEV

Character: IS-C

or

Classification: BU 100-3-99

Submitting Office: NYO

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It is Browder's belief that this clash is one of the great turning points in history; that it is a life-and-death struggle for leadership of the Communist world; and that there is no serious prospect of any sudden reconciliation.

He does not believe the U. S. should exhibit any strident public partisanship for Khrushchev's position because "that would not be helpful." But he believes we—and the rest of humanity—have a vast stake in the outcome of this internal Communist war, and that those who deride the clash as simply a "dispute about how to bury us" are missing the central point. Overwhelming Senate approval of the nuclear test treaty, he suggests, could be a crucial event because the shadow of nuclear terror is most acutely felt in Asia and Africa, where the Chinese Communists are making their most aggressive bid. If the treaty were to be repudiated here, or even ratified by a narrow margin, Peking's "hard-liners" would inevitably gain new ground.

* * *

There will be those who say Browder's words must be suspect because he was for so long a Communist dignitary. Presumably that explains why it took all agencies of the U. S. government so long to seek his views. But, in this matter, it is hard to imagine a more expert opinion. One might even argue that a man who occupied so high a position in the Communist hierarchy might be a more informed consultant, in this time of turmoil in the Communist world, than some of the CIA analysts who were in baby carriages when Browder was in China.

But he is not a man looking for such a job. He reads a lot; he is engaged in a chess-game-by-correspondence with a London friend; he is still very much in this world but he is not committed to the notion that he has an indispensable mission to change it. He has many interesting things to say on many subjects. But, in a way, the most interesting thing about Earl Browder is that he has so plainly adjusted himself to the awareness that he will not loom large in the history books. One nevertheless retains the hope that the government will make larger use of his knowledge in a time when ignorance so often compounds our world troubles.

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

9/26/63

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
TOPLEV
INTERNAL SECURITY - C
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
~~SECURITY MATTER - C~~
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Glascock
1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Ryan

My memorandum dated 8/7/63 advised of our first Toplev interview of Browder, who was the leader of the American Communist Party from 1930 until his expulsion for right-wing deviationism in 1946. During the initial interview Browder was cordial and co-operative and he commented in general terms regarding his past Party affiliation and expressed his current opinions in regard to international communism.

On 8/27/63 Browder was again contacted by Special Agents at his residence in Yonkers, New York, and interviewed for approximately two hours. He was relaxed and appeared willing to talk at length. At the conclusion of the interview, Browder said he had "enjoyed" meeting with the Agents and he volunteered to again be interviewed if the Agents could listen to "an old heretic."

The following are some of the pertinent or interesting points elicited from Browder during this second interview:

1. Browder stated that in 1926 he "worked" in Moscow in the trade union movement and in early 1927 he was selected by the Comintern to go to China in connection with the trade union movement. While in China, he was active in the Pan Pacific Council and was the editor of a magazine. He stated his tour in China was an international assignment from the Comintern. He also commented that Charles Krumbein also had received an international assignment from the Comintern.

2. Browder commented he had originally been invited to work in China by Chiang Kai-shek although he had been finally recommended by the Japanese delegate to the Comintern. Browder stated Chiang had studied in Moscow and at one time was considered by the Russians to be one of their "fair haired boys." When Chiang quit the Russian camp and built his own empire with the aid of "American dollars," he became a ruthless leader who eventually executed all opposition.

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Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

100-3-99

40-3798

including many of Browder's friends. Browder expressed the opinion that in removing this opposition, Chiang paved the way indirectly for the eventual take over by the communists for he did away with all forces that stood in the communists' way.

3. Browder admitted that the Comintern aided Communist Parties in various countries, during the 1920's and early 1930's, including the Communist Party (CP), USA. According to Browder, when he became chief of the CPUSA he discontinued the acceptance of this money. He said the CPUSA thereafter forwarded its dues to the Comintern, sometimes by directly aiding CP's in foreign lands. Browder said he was unable to state the extent of the financial assistance given the CPUSA nor did he know how it was delivered to the Party, but he said the transfer of funds could be effected easily.

4. Browder admitted that he had sat in on most of the irregular meetings of the Comintern which were held during his period of leadership. He said he presented the American viewpoint and the higher level Russians usually agreed with his views.

5. According to Browder, he had spoken to Stalin at large gatherings but he had never spoken with him on a personal basis. In this respect, he said he was considered somewhat of a heretic for he felt if Stalin would not ask to see him he was not going to ask for an interview with Stalin.

6. Browder stated that during his period of CP leadership it was learned from experience that the American people could not be sold on socialism but needed some other inducement to be drawn into the communist movement. In this regard, he commented that during the depression the CP was able to sell itself by way of trade union policies and later the CP reached its greatest strength on the basis of its anti-Fascist stand.

7. When the interviewing Agents commented to Browder regarding his extensive library, he stated that the books were all sold and he was waiting for the buyer to pick them up. He said the books were bought by one individual who had contracted for Browder's personal archives upon his death.

Memorandum to Mr. W. C. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

100-3-99

40-3798

8. Browder commented that his three sons are all professors of mathematics and are furthering their studies in the scientific field. He said all three graduated from Massachusetts Institute of Technology, each having attended on full scholarship. All three have received their Ph.D. degrees in mathematics and this year two of his sons will attend Princeton University on a grant. One will remain at Princeton in the Mathematics Department and the other has received an appointment at the University of Chicago. The third son has received a grant for two years of research at the University of California.

The New York Office plans to recontact Browder within 45 days. When it is believed Browder's complete confidence has been obtained, New York is under instructions to attempt to elicit information regarding matters and individuals known to Browder to be involved with the clandestine activities of the CP during his period of leadership.

ACTION:

None. For information.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)

DATE: 9/30/63

FROM

SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT:

CEUSA - TOPLEV
IS-C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C
(INTERNAL SECURITY)
(OO: NY)

ReNYlet, 9/13/63.

Attached is a Xerox copy of an article by Associated Press, which was printed in the "New York Journal American" on 9/30/63, concerning EARL BROWDER.

In view of the fact that BROWDER has been interviewed on two occasions under the Toplev Program, and the article refers to contacts made by the FBI with BROWDER soliciting his opinions, this article is being forwarded to the Bureau for information.

REC-10

- 3 - Bureau (100-3-99) (Encl. 1) (RM)
(1 - 40-3738) 44-3798
1 - NY [redacted]
1 - NY 100-25693

ENCLOSURE

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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/99 BY [redacted]

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-FORMER CHIEF OF REDS NOW HOBNOBS WITH FBI-

Communism 'A Complete Waste of Time in U.S.' Says Browder

By The Associated Press

Two FBI agents called on a gray-haired, grandfatherly man recently, a trim little man few persons would notice in casual passing.

For two hours they explored his opinions on the background and importance of the Sino-Soviet conflict. They took with them his written analysis of the ideological struggle between Red China and Russia.

"It was the first friendly contact I ever had with the FBI," said 72-year-old Earl Browder, whose contacts with the FBI have been many.

To millions of Americans, Browder's name is synonymous with the U.S. Communist Party. He joined the party

almost upon its formation and guided it for 15 years through the peak of its popularity in this country, the 1930s.

Today he says:

"The Communist Party is completely a waste of time in this country. Communism would not work here. Its theories don't fit America."

Stalin ordered Browder's ouster as General Secretary, the position of power, in 1945 for "revisionism." Expulsion from the party followed.

Browder argued that neither armed conflict nor Cold War was inevitable. He rejected the basic dogma that Communism must destroy capitalism before the world can know peace and social progress.

Now a caustic critic of Communism, Browder characterized the party in the U.S. as a weak nuisance to America.

(Indicate page, name of newspaper, city and state.)

8 NEW YORK JOURNAL
AMERICAN

Date: 9/30/63
Edition: 7th SPORTS
Author:
Editor: PAUL SCHOENSTEIN
Title: CPUSA-TOPLEV

Character: IS-C
or
Classification: BU 100-3-99
Submitting Office: NYO

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/6/99 BY [redacted]

ENCLOSURE

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The Kansas-born Browder flew high within communism after he first studied Karl Marx in 1919—while serving a term in Leavenworth Federal Prison for conspiring to obstruct the World War I draft law.

He knew former Soviet Foreign Minister Molotov and many other top Communists personally, went to China in the 1920s on a two-year Red labor union mission, lived in Moscow for a time, participated in World Communist policy conferences and twice was the Communist candidate for President of the United States.

Three times Browder went to jail—twice for World War I draft charges and once for passport fraud, a four-year term that President Franklin D. Roosevelt commuted after 14 months in 1942.

"I have no regrets about my past," said Browder, who

still wears the mustache he grew 50 years ago to camouflage the fact that his face is a little crooked from a fall as a baby.

"I think I had a useful life and certainly a very interesting one. It didn't prevent my sons from finding their natural careers in science in American life, although it did give them a lot of hurdles to get over.

Browder's three sons, all university mathematicians holding doctorates, visit him regularly at his Yonkers apartment.

His Russian-born second wife, Raissa, died in 1955, and he shares the apartment with his older brother, Ralph, and the 84-year-old woman who was the sons' nurse.

Browder says he lives "a very quiet, retired life." "My principal interest today is my grandchildren," he said. He has four and expects two more in the Spring.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Mohr

FROM : C. D. DeLoach

DATE: September 30, 1963

SUBJECT: INTERVIEW BY FBI WITH
EARL BROWDER

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/01 BY [redacted]

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

The September 30, 1963, issue of "The Evening Star" contains an Associated Press (AP) story datelined at Yonkers, New York, 9-30-63, and captioned "Browder Ousted Red, Now Gives Help to FBI." The Director has inquired, "Who gave this out?"

Neither the New York Office nor my office has had any contact with news media concerning the attached Browder story except today when we have stated, in answer to inquiries, that we had no comment to make.

Agents of the New York Office have interviewed Browder twice recently, once in July and once in August under the Toplev program. Interviews were approved by the Bureau and reported fully. Browder was talkative, agreeable and the two Agents talked with him for approximately two hours each time.

On September 19, 1963, James Wechsler of the "New York Post," in his column, commented that two "intelligence agents" of the U. S. Government called on Browder to get his views on the Sino-Soviet relationship.

OBSERVATION:

It appears that Browder himself, or someone on his behalf, has notified not only Wechsler but the AP folks in New York that the FBI called upon him.

ACTION:

None. For information.

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Jones
- 1 - Mr. Morrell

REW:saj (6)

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Browder, Ousted Red, Now Gives Help to FBI

YONKERS, N. W., Sept. 30 (AP).—Two FBI agents recently called a gray-haired, grandfatherly man, a trim little man few persons would notice in casual passing.

For two hours they explored his opinions on the background and importance of the Sino-Soviet conflict. They took with them his written analysis of the ideological struggle between Red China and Russia.

"It was the first friendly contact I ever had with the FBI," said 72-year-old Earl Browder, whose contacts with the FBI have been many.



EARL BROWDER
—AP Wirephoto.

Guided Party 15 Years

To millions of Americans, Mr. Browder's name is synonymous with the United States Communist Party. He joined the party almost upon its formation and guided it for 15 years through the peak of its popularity in this country, the 1930s.

The late Soviet Premier Josef Stalin ordered Mr. Browder's ouster as general secretary, the position of power, in 1945 for "revisionism." Expulsion from the party followed.

Accused of Revisionism

Revisionism — or "Browderism," as it came to be known internally — consisted of advocating coexistence. Mr. Browder argued that neither armed conflict nor cold war was inevitable. He rejected the basic dogma that communism must destroy capitalism before the world can know peace and social progress.

"Khrushchev occupies today a position on the big issues in the world that I occupied in 1945," Mr. Browder said in an interview.

"When the Chinese accuse him of revisionism they are merely echoing and elaborating the arguments used against me when I was thrown out of the movement.

"They (the Communists) did me a favor when they kicked me a favor when they kicked me at all. I deliberately provoked it."

Now a caustic critic of communism, Mr. Browder characterized the party in the United States as a weak nuisance to America.

Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
DeLoach _____
Evans _____
Gale _____
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Sullivan _____
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Trotter _____
Tele Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

Who gave this out? MML SP

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DATE 12/20/01 BY [redacted]

The Washington Post and Times Herald _____
The Washington Daily News _____
The Evening Star _____
New York Herald Tribune _____
New York Journal-American _____
New York Mirror _____
New York Daily News _____
New York Post _____
The New York Times _____
The Worker _____
The New Leader _____
The Wall Street Journal _____
The National Observer _____

6 OCT 4 1963

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53 OCT 8 1963

CRIME RESEARCH

DeLoach to Mohr
9-30-63
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REC-20

40-3798-354X

phc
SAC, New York (100-25693)

October 7, 1963

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Director, FBI (100-3-99) (40-3793)

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
TOPLEV
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Glascock
1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Ryan

ReNYlets 9/20/63 and 9/30/63 forwarding articles publicizing the recent interviews of Browder.

You are authorized to again interview Browder under the provisions of the Toplev Program but you are cautioned to be most circumspect inasmuch as your contact with Browder may receive additional publicity.

The Bureau desires you now specifically question Browder regarding his knowledge of the secret apparatus, financial activities and international aspects of the Communist Party during his period of leadership. If Browder becomes uncooperative or withholds information, you should promptly terminate the interview. During the interview you should discreetly attempt to determine the manner in which the press became aware of your previous interviews. Promptly advise the Bureau the results of this third contact with Browder.

NOTE:

See memo Baumgardner to Sullivan, same caption, 10/2/63,

DR:bge.

DR:bge
(12)

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ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3-99-287

Mr. W. C. Sullivan

October 2, 1963

Mr. F. J. Baumgardner

COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
TOPLEV
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
(INTERNAL SECURITY).

1 - Mr. Belmont
1 - Mr. Mohr
1 - Mr. DeLoach
1 - Mr. Sullivan
1 - Mr. Baumgardner
1 - Mr. Glascock
1 - Mr. Donohue
1 - Mr. Ryan

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 12/20/01 BY [redacted]

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Agents of our New York Office have conducted two authorized Top Level Program interviews of Browder, who was the leader of the American Communist Party from 1930 until his expulsion in 1946. These interviews, on 7/22/63 and 8/27/63, were primarily exploratory in nature and Browder was not specifically questioned regarding his knowledge of clandestine Party activities during his period of leadership. The New York Office has outstanding authority to continue contacts with Browder and when the opportune time arises to question him specifically. The "New York Post" on 9/19/63 contained an article by James Wechsler setting forth that Browder had been interviewed by representatives of a "United States intelligence agency." On 9/30/63 Associated Press dispatches in New York City and Washington, D. C., newspapers reported the FBI had interviewed Browder.

In view of the publicity afforded Browder, possibly instigated by himself for self-serving purposes, we recommend Browder again be contacted both to determine background regarding the press releases and to now specifically question him regarding matters of interest to the Bureau. We will advise the interviewing Agents that if Browder is not completely cooperative or if he withholds information, the interview should be promptly terminated. They will be cautioned to be discreet regarding their questions because of the possibility of additional publicity.

ACTION:

It is recommended the attached letter containing suitable cautions be forwarded to New York authorizing an additional interview of Browder under the Toplev Program. If Browder is uncooperative or refuses to respond to specific questions, we are instructing the interview be terminated immediately.

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DR:bge

(10)

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NOT RECORDED
102 OCT 9 1963

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)

DATE: 10/25/63

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693) (P)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - TOPLEV
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

ReBulet 10/7/63.

On 10/25/63 Special Agents JAMES P. HALLERON and PHILLIP M. BROOKS called upon EARL RUSSELL BROWDER at his residence. BROWDER greeted the Agents in the same friendly, cordial manner that he exhibited when last interviewed and a discussion of BROWDER'S health then ensued, it having been ascertained that he had visited the doctor on 10/24/63. BROWDER stated that he has been having spells that cause him to lose his balance and the doctor told him to cease writing and to move slowly and deliberately. The doctor described his condition as being due to his age and not uncommon for his age and that other than this, he was in good health.

After continuing the conversation on a general level, the Agents discreetly mentioned the publicity he received in the press the latter part of September in an effort to ascertain information concerning the reason why this publicity was accorded him. BROWDER stated that he was surprised by the press interviews and added that it all stemmed from the speech that he had given on the Sino-Soviet split last Spring at Hofstra College, a copy of which was forwarded to the Bureau by letter dated 7/25/63. He stated that he had made several copies of this speech for distribution and that evidently one of the copies had come into the hands of JAMES WECHSLER of the "New York Post." As a result WECHSLER contacted BROWDER and requested an interview which BROWDER readily gave, having known WECHSLER in the past. As a result of WECHSLER'S column, he was contacted by the Associated Press (AP) in New York, and he was subsequently interviewed by JAMES WEST in the AP offices in New York. He inferred that he had not sought the publicity; however, it was apparent that he was pleased to see his name in the press, again.

3 - Bureau (RM)
(1 - 40-3798)
1 - New York
1 - New York (100-25693)#41

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BROWDER then added that he was subsequently contacted by representatives of the Columbia Broadcasting System (CBS) in New York and he has agreed to be interviewed on CBS Television on the subject of individuals who were in the news twenty years ago. He stated that CBS will tape the interview at his residence next Monday, 10/28/63 and that it will probably be televised some time during the week of 10/28/63. It is not a planned interview but will be "off the cuff."

BROWDER stated that he has received clippings of the AP article from all over the United States and that he has also been invited to give a ten-minute talk to a group at "Missouri State College" on 11/3/63. This talk will be given over the telephone and he plans to deliver a cut down version of the speech he made at Hofstra College.

BROWDER willingly discussed the above with the Agents and was most friendly and talkative; however, in view of the impending interview by CBS, it was deemed advisable to restrict the interview to a general, social contact and to avoid any questions of a pertinent nature. Also, during the interview Agents noticed that BROWDER appeared somewhat fatigued and lacking the vigor and forcefulness he exhibited on prior interviews. It was therefore suggested that, in view of his preparing for his television appearance, it would be better to contact him at another time, possibly in two or three weeks.

BROWDER stated that he visits friends regularly in Manhattan on Wednesday evenings whereupon Agents suggested that it might be possible to arrange to have a luncheon or dinner engagement with him on one of the dates that he visits New York City. This suggestion was readily accepted by BROWDER and he volunteered to come to the city early to effectuate such a meeting. Interviewing Agents then exchanged greetings and advised him that they would contact him to arrange another talk.

Evaluation of the Interview

In view of the impending publicity to be given BROWDER on CBS, Agents were most circumspect in their conversation with him. He maintained his general friendly demeanor throughout the interview despite the fact that he appeared tired and somewhat weak. He appeared sincere in his explanation of how the publicity originated from WECHSLER having obtained a copy of his speech and, as stated above, although he was surprised by it, he did not seem displeased by it in any way. The New York Office will follow his television appearance and, if nothing adverse arises from it, will wait a couple of weeks before contacting BROWDER again.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: November 4, 1963

FROM : Mr. F. J. Baumgardner *FJB*

SUBJECT: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
 TOPLEV
 INTERNAL SECURITY - C
 EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
 SECURITY MATTER - C
 (INTERNAL SECURITY)

- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. Mohr
- 1 - Mr. DeLoach
- 1 - Mr. Sullivan
- 1 - Mr. Baumgardner
- 1 - Mr. Glascock
- 1 - Mr. Donohue
- 1 - Mr. Ryan

Tolson ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Casper ☒
 Callahan ☒
 Conrad ☒
 DeLoach ☒
 Evans ☒
 Gale ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Sullivan ☒
 Tavel ☒
 Trotter ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holmes ☒
 Gandy ☒

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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 DATE 12/20/01 BY [redacted]

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On 10/25/63 Agents of the New York Office conducted the third interview of Browder under the provisions of the Toplev Program. Browder, who was the leader of the American Communist Party from 1930 until his expulsion in 1946, has previously been interviewed on 7/22/63 and 8/27/63.

When contacted on 10/25/63, Browder continued to be cordial and receptive to the inquiries of the Special Agents. Although the Agents were under instructions to specifically question Browder regarding his knowledge of the clandestine activities of the Communist Party during his period of leadership, it was indicated during the interview that Browder was in poor health and this line of questioning was not attempted. Browder advised the Agents he had visited his doctor on the previous day and that he had been having spells that cause him to lose his balance. Browder said the doctor had told him to cease writing and to move slowly and deliberately. According to Browder, the doctor described his condition as due to his age but said he was otherwise in good health.

You will recall that the "New York Post" on 9/19/63 contained an article by James Wechsler setting forth that Browder had been interviewed by representatives of a "United States intelligence agency." Subsequently, Associated Press dispatches indicated the FBI had interviewed Browder. During the interview on 10/25/63 the Agents determined that Browder had been contacted recently by Wechsler and Browder admitted to Wechsler his contact by the FBI. Browder said that after he was mentioned in Wechsler's column he was contacted by the Associated Press in New York. He inferred he had not sought the publicity but it was apparent to the interviewing Agents he was pleased to see his name in the press again.

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Memorandum to Mr. Sullivan
RE: COMMUNIST PARTY, USA
TOPLEV

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
100-3-99
40-3798

Browder stated that as a result of the publicity he received in the newspapers, he was scheduled to make a taped interview for television during the week of 10/28/63. He said he had also been invited to give a 10-minute talk to a group at "Missouri State College" on 11/3/63. This talk will be given over the telephone and will be a cut-down version of a speech previously made by him regarding Sino-Russian relations.

The New York Office intends to interview Browder in the immediate future and, if deemed advisable, will attempt to question him specifically regarding his knowledge of the secret apparatus, financial activities and international aspects of the Communist Party during his period of leadership.

ACTION:

None. For information.

JD
WGB
SRC
AR

Q

V.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)

DATE: 11/8/63

FROM : *JFM*
SAC, NEW YORK (100-25963)

SUBJECT: CPUSA - TOPIEV
INTERNAL SECURITY - C.

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C
(INTERNAL SECURITY)

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Remylet 10/25/63.

Relet reflects that BROWDER was to be interviewed by representatives of CBS Television on 10/28/63, which interview, according to BROWDER, would be televised at a later date. Established sources of the NYO were unable to ascertain that the interview had been conducted and, therefore, could not furnish any information as to when it would be shown on the air.

In the interest of finding out when the interview would be scheduled, SA PHILLIP M. BROOKS contacted BROWDER on 11/6/63, for this purpose. The conversation with BROWDER was restricted to the state of his health and was then subtly turned to the interview in question. BROWDER stated that he had been mistaken in that it was not a television interview, but was an interview by CBS for CBS Radio. He advised that he was interviewed on 10/28/63, and it lasted for about one-half an hour but that CBS did not know how much of it they would use, inferring that they may cut it to fit an unscheduled time slot. BROWDER did not know when the interview would be broadcast as the interviewers did not indicate when it would be used.

Agent impressed BROWDER that his interest in the program stemmed from a personal desire to see and hear what he had to say and BROWDER readily accepted this. He was affable and

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NY 100-25963

friendly and arrangements were made to contact him toward the end of the month to arrange for another interview. He stated that he would be available and advised the Agent to call at any time.

Efforts will be made through an established source at CBS to ascertain when the BROWDER interview will be put on the air. The Bureau will be advised of any results attained.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)

FROM : *JFM* SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693) (P)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - TOPLEV
IS - C

DATE: 12/27/63

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Bac
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
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ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 12/20/01 BY BA

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On 12/20/63, BROWDER was recontacted by SAs PHILLIP M. BROOKS and JAMES P. HALLERON at his residence, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York. BROWDER received the agents cordially into his home and, as on past occasions, appeared relaxed and pleased by the visit. In regard to the radio interview that had been transcribed at his home, BROWDER advised that it had been played on NBC radio (rather than CBS as he previously stated) on a program dealing with names that had been in the news years ago. He stated that he had not heard the program as he was not advised that it was going to be broadcast. He added that the interview consisted of a rehash of the Associated Press article which had appeared in the papers and was very general in nature. He did not know the date of the program.

After a brief discussion of a general nature, agents turned the conversation to a discussion of the schools operated by the CP, USA as well as to the schools operated by the Russians for the benefit of the various CP's in the world. BROWDER stated that the Lenin School was operated by the Soviets for CP members who appeared to have a potential for leadership in the Party. He stated that persons were selected from the various sections of the CP and were sent to Moscow to attend the school. The term of the school was for a period of two years and the expenses were furnished by the CP, USA. He stated that the individuals used their own names in securing passports, however, when challenged on this point he stated that many of them used assumed names or "aliases."

③ - Bureau (100-3-99) (RM)
① - 40-3798
1 - NY (INV) (41)
1 - NY 100-25693 (421) *W.P.*
cc 815 R13
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W.P.
Submitt
John Sullivan
W.P.

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Classes in the Lenin School were conducted in English and dealt mainly with the theories of Marxism-Leninism. When asked concerning the military training given during the school, he answered that the students spent four months each summer with the Red Army. However, he stated that this four month period was more in the form of a vacation than stringent military training. He stated that very few of the graduates of the Lenin School reached the heights for which they were chosen and then added that, in his estimation, the Lenin School did not compare with the schools that were operated by the CP, USA.

U.S.A. The CP, USA operated schools at Camp Beacon and at another camp which name he could not readily recall. These schools were operated during the summer months under the direction of "POP" MENDELL and were concerned with the theories of Marxism-Leninism and were designed to instruct the members in party leadership. He was asked specifically whether revolutionary tactics were taught and he replied that the theory of the counter-revolution was discussed. He stressed the point that this was a theoretical course only.

When discussing the Lenin School BROWDER mentioned that at the time of the Spanish War, many of the graduates of the school went directly to Spain to join the International Brigade. He stated that he had visited the Brigade in Spain and that the CP, USA, was instrumental in raising much of the money to send the American volunteers to Spain. He stated that among the various nationalities combined in the Brigade, the Americans were by far the best and most efficient group, the French the worst. He stated that CLEMENT ATLEE of Britain had visited the Brigade prior to his own trip.

Many of the veterans of the International Brigade returned to Russia after the war only to find that they received poor treatment. He stated that these individuals looked to Russia as another homeland but were soon disenchanted as the Russians looked upon them with distrust and were unwilling to accept them fully. While speaking in this vein, BROWDER mentioned that the Russians have always had a class system and have never done away with it. They have their hierarchy and privileged citizens who receive first class treatment while there are others who are watched closely all the time. He also added that he feels that there is still a strong group of Stalinists in Russia who are directly opposed to KHRUSHCHEV and his policies.

NY 100-25693

The discussion was general in nature and, although he was questioned on points, such as the use of aliases in passports, the military training at the Lenin School etc., time did not allow for a more probing or specific interrogation on these points. The interview progressed smoothly and BROWDER exhibited the same friendly attitude as he has in the past. Prior to the termination of the interview, agents advised him that they were interested in the schools that had been discussed and stated that they would like to question him further on this matter at some future date. BROWDER readily agreed to the suggestion of a recontact and it was mutually agreed that the interview be set up tentatively for the middle of January. The Bureau will be advised of the results of the reinterview.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : SAC, New York (Your file 100-25693 DATE: 12/18/63 ²⁶)FROM : Director, FBI (Bufile and Serial 406-3798)Room No. Room 327 RBSUBJECT: Earl Russell Browder
SM-c☒ Post in file and
destroy 0-1
(For SOG use
only)☐ 1. Bufiles indicate this case is delinquent. Give specific reason for delinquency.☒ 2. Date ☐ airtel ☐ letter ☐ submitted 1/31/64
☒ report ☐ letterhead memo ☒ will be submitted☐ 3. If valid reason exists for not submitting report at this time, state reason specifically and when report
will be submitted _____☐ 4. Status of ☐ Appeal ☐ Inquiry ☐ Investigation ☐ Prosecution☐ 5. Submit ☐ airtel ☐ letter
☐ report ☐ letterhead memo

By _____

100-25693

SEARCHED	INDEXED
SERIALIZED	FILED
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FBI - NEW YORK	

100-25693

(Place reply hereon and return to Bureau. Note receipt and acknowledgment on this routing slip)

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DATE 12/26/01 BY 4106077-oc

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FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE JAN 31 1964	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/20/63 - 1/21/64
TITLE OF CASE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER aka		REPORT MADE BY JAMES E. GORDON	TYPED BY job
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM-C	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA JAMES E. GORDON, dated 11/30/62.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE:

The interviews of subject which are mentioned in details of the report were conducted by SAS PHILLIP M. BROOK and JAMES P. HALLERON.

A copy of the talk which BROWDER delivered at Hofstra University on 3/21/63, which is mentioned in the details of the report was obtained by the above named agents in connection with an interview with BROWDER.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/24/99 BYINFORMANTS:

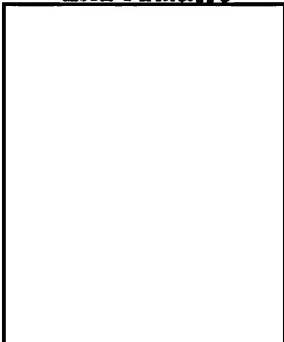
Informants who were contacted in January, 1964, and who were unable to furnish information concerning the activities of the subject are identified as follows:

APPROVED <i>[Signature]</i>	SPECIAL AGENT IN CHARGE	DO NOT WRITE IN SPACES BELOW	
COPIES MADE: 4-Bureau (40-3798) 3-New York (100-25693)		40-3798-859	REC-11 EX-115
22 copies made 2/11/64 WPJ/lcy 0-17 to 114 repara 2 Pg 5 - should read "know how" 2/11/64 WPJ/lcy		12 FEB 4 1964	
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT		NOTATIONS	
AGENCY.....		SUBV. CONTROL	
REQUEST RECD.....		Photo	
DATE FWD..... 2/11/64		CC TO: []	
HOW FWD..... 0-6 0-14 dc 0-14N 0-14E 0-14		REQ. REC'D. 7/22/65	
BY..... WPJ/lcy		SEP 30 1965	
		ANS. BY: []	

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NY 100-25693

Informant



Date Contacted

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Contacted By

SA JOHN A. HAAG
SA JOHN A. HAAG
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SA JOHN DI MARCHI
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SA JOHN DI MARCHI

b7D

LEAD:

NEW YORK

At Yonkers, NY

Will continue to contact the subject pursuant to authority and instructions received from the Bureau.

COVER PAGE

NY 100-25693

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☐ Careful consideration has been given to each source concealed and T symbols were utilized only in those instances where the identities of the sources must be concealed.
6. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.
7. ☐ This report is classified _____ because (state reason)
8. ☒ Subject previously interviewed (dates) 7/22/63; 8/27/63; 10/25/63;
☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) 12/20/63x interviews with subject will continue, pursuant to authority and instructions of the Bureau.
9. ☐ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
10. ☒ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason) subject had knowledge of and assisted in espionage matters in the past and because of the high position that he held in the CP for a number of years (NY report of SA JAMES E. HANLON, 12/31/56).
11. ☒ Subject's SI card ☒ is ☐ is not tabbed Detcom.
☒ Subject's activities ☒ do ☐ do not warrant Detcom tabbing.

COVER PAGE

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: JAMES E. GORDON Office: New York, New York
Date: JAN 31 1964
Field Office File No.: 100-25693 Bureau File No.: 40-3798
Title: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis: Subject resided 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, and was unemployed as of 1/15/64. In talk before Hofstra University Students' Council on 3/21/63, BROWDER discussed the Sino - Soviet Conflict. He traced the history of the differences between the two countries and pointed out the difficulties in attempting to assess the position of the Chinese. In interviews in 1963, BROWDER expressed his views on present world conditions, schools that had been operated in Russia and the US and the status of the CP, USA.

- P -

DETAILS:I. BACKGROUNDA. Residence and Employment

[redacted] Yonkers, New York, b7D
advised on January 15, 1964, that the subject continued to reside at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, and that he was unemployed.

II. SUBJECT'S VIEWS ON THE SINO - SOVIET CONFLICT

It was determined that the subject had delivered a

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DATE 5/24/99 BY [redacted]

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NY 100-25693

lecture entitled "On the Sino - Soviet Conflict" before the Hofstra University Students' Council, Hempstead, New York, on March 21, 1963.

On July 22, 1963, the subject made available a copy of the manuscript which he had used for this lecture. A review of this manuscript was made.

In the lecture, BROWDER commented on the current struggle between Russia and China. He reviewed the position of Mao Tse-tung with regard to his ideology and stated that Mao had shifted over the years from being a right winger to his present position of being on the ultra-left. BROWDER stated that the struggle between China and Russia went back many years.

BROWDER pointed out that the Chinese Communists had been to the right of Communist Party (CP) philosophy after World War II, at which time the Chinese influence in Europe was considerable. The general position of local Communist Parties in Eastern and Southern Europe after World War II was also to "the Right Wing Revisionist". However, TITO in Yugoslavia, at the same time had taken a leftist position with regard to a view of Communist philosophy.

TITO, acting for Moscow, criticized the Italian and French Communists for not having seized power at the end of World War II when conditions in their countries had been ripe for such seizure. This had the effect of throwing "the right revisionist" trend in the Communist Parties into confusion and TITO emerged as a major figure. Since STALIN could not tolerate another major figure on the scene, he attempted to purge TITO from the position that he held in Yugoslavia.

BROWDER believed that at about the same time, STALIN instituted a program to purge the Right Wing leaders. This program was resisted but was later successful because of the power of the Russian Armies in the countries affected which were still occupied by Russian troops. BROWDER felt that TITO was able to resist the pressure applied by STALIN but as a result was pushed to the right. The Chinese Communists gave discreet but effective support to TITO and later to right wing resurgence in Poland and Hungary.

NY 100-25693

BROWDER pointed out that an American Journalist, ANNA LOUISE STRONG, revealed that the long muted Sino - Soviet conflict was again emerging after the war. 'After conducting some interviews in China, ANNA LOUISE STRONG wrote some articles and later, in 1948, published a book entitled "New Democracies" in which she set forth the new party line in China, which STALIN opposed. It was stated that Mao had adjusted Marxism - Leninism to the reality of China, Asia and the other dependent countries because he felt that Dogmatism of Moscow trained leaders was unsuited to China.

BROWDER stated the belief that until 1957, Mao was on the defensive against Moscow pressure as a "Right Wing Deviationists". In November, 1957, at the Moscow conference of the parties, Mao suddenly shifted to the leftward. He wanted Moscow to accept the leading position and responsibility for the whole world but he also wanted to be regarded as a co-leader.

BROWDER expressed the difficulty of interpreting Mao's ultra left policy since 1957 and felt it might be an irrational response to the new and unfamiliar position in which he found himself. BROWDER cited the difficulties of China to develop, compounded by her mistakes. BROWDER also pointed out the old grievances of China which had been aggravated when Moscow withdrew its material aid in retaliation for the change in the Chinese position in 1957.

BROWDER stated that he believed that the present policy of China appeared to be madness but he pointed out that both the United States and the Soviet Union had periods of difficulty after World War II. He believed that since the United States and Russia recovered from these periods of difficulty, there was hope that China too would recover.

BROWDER believed that the three countries, China, America and Russia had something in common in their rise to power after World War II and the frustrations that each encountered in that rise. He believed that all must learn to live with their frustrations as the beginning of learning how to live in the same world with each other.

III. INTERVIEWS WITH SUBJECT

BROWDER was contacted by Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on July 22, 1963. After some general conversation, BROWDER commented that in his opinion, a complete break now exists between China and Russia but he felt that China eventually would be isolated and would be forced to accede to the wishes of the CP of the Soviet Union. He added that at the present time the Chinese CP would have the support of the other Far Eastern CPs and possibly some support from the smaller European parties, such as Albania, but he felt that such a situation would not continue and that the European parties would be the first to fall away from the Chinese camp.

BROWDER recalled that he had been purged from the CP for advocating the same principles that he believed KHRUSHCHEV is espousing today. He stated that if they had listened to him 17 years ago, they could have saved a lot of time and trouble. He remarked that GOMULKA had been imprisoned for the same thinking for which he, BROWDER, was purged but that at the present time GOMULKA has regained stature and is the leader of the CP in Poland. BROWDER advised that he had not considered himself to be a Communist for the last ten or twelve years but has attempted to keep up with the various facets of Communism over the years by intensive reading.

BROWDER remarked that he believed that KHRUSHCHEV is not a theoretician but is an excellent politician. He believed KHRUSHCHEV varies his position to pacify his opponents and is an expert at keeping everybody happy and in line.

BROWDER believed that STALIN had been an absolute leader and "dictator". He felt that STALIN had dissolved the Comintern in 1943, partly as a political gesture to the Russian allies but probably more to establish STALIN's complete and absolute control over the Communist world. BROWDER stated that the Comintern had had substantive restrictive powers and STALIN had to account to this body and abide by its ruling. In order to complete his "dictatorship", he had to erase the Comintern completely.

BROWDER stated the belief that the Hungarian Uprising

NY 100-25693

was "a vicious and brutal" repression which was possibly done by KHRUSHCHEV to avoid his own ouster. BROWDER pointed out that after the uprising had been quelled, KHRUSHCHEV immediately made amends by pouring millions in economic aid to rebuild Hungary and to obtain the good will of the people. BROWDER cited the fact that more aid was given to Hungary by Russia than any other country and that Hungary is better off for it today.

BROWDER believed that the Berlin situation is a matter of principle with the Russians and he admitted that the Berlin wall did not enhance the Communist image in the world but for the Russians it had been a necessity. The value of the refugees who had been fleeing from East Germany was too great and Russia disliked losing the technical knowhow of many of the people of East Germany who had been fleeing.

BROWDER believed that the CP, USA is completely ineffective because of the small numbers in the party. He did not believe that the Soviets had any hope at this time of ever "subverting" the United States. He felt that the Russians realized that the United States is enjoying many socialistic benefits.

On August 27, 1963, BROWDER again held conversations with Special Agents of the FBI. He commented on the nuclear test ban treaty and stated that he believed in the pact and stated that the test ban was a step in the right direction.

BROWDER related that in 1926 he "worked" in Moscow for the trade union movement and in early 1927 he was selected by the Comintern to go to China to assist in the trade union movement there. BROWDER stated the belief that he had been invited to China by ~~CHIANG KAI-SHEK~~ but while he was there, in China, during 1927, he never met CHIANG.

BROWDER observed that when CHIANG came into power in China he was a ruthless individual who executed all opposition. In removing his opposition during his tenure of power which lasted for about 20 years, BROWDER believed that CHIANG indirectly paved the way for the eventual takeover of China by the Communists because in destroying his opposition he also did away with the forces that would have stood in the way of the Communists.

NY 100-25693

BROWDER commented that his activities in China were in the nature of an international assignment from the Comintern.

In relation to the Comintern, BROWDER stated that the Comintern had given financial assistance to parties in various countries and that during the 1920s and early 1930s, the Comintern had sent money to the CP, USA to aid it. He stated that when he became head of the CP, USA, some years later, he discontinued the acceptance of this money and believed that the CP, USA had to support itself.

BROWDER remarked that the Comintern met irregularly and that he sat in on most of the meetings which were held during the period of his leadership and he presented the American viewpoint on matters before the organization.

BROWDER commented on the fact that various schools were held in Moscow which were sponsored by the Comintern and that these schools were usually run with financial backing from the Russians.

BROWDER pointed out that after he had been forced out of the CP he had never been asked to rejoin the organization. He stated that he had tried to be readmitted on two occasions but each time had been refused. He pointed out that his purpose in seeking readmission was to test the Party's decision in that if he was readmitted, then the Party would be admitting that it had been wrong in expelling him in the first place.

BROWDER was recontacted by Special Agents of the FBI on October 25, 1963. BROWDER advised that he had visited his doctor on October 24, 1963, because he had been having spells that caused him to lose his balance. He stated that the doctor had told him to cease writing and to move slowly and deliberately. The doctor described his condition as being due to his age and not unusual for a person his age, and that other than that he was considered to be in good health.

In an interview on December 20, 1963, BROWDER advised Special Agents of the FBI that Russia had operated schools for the benefit of various CPs in the world. He stated that the Lenin School had been operated by the Soviet for CP members who appeared to have a

NY 100-25693

for
potential/leadership in the Party. He stated that persons were selected from the various sections of the CP and were sent to Moscow to attend the school. The term of the school had been for a period of two years and the expenses involved were furnished by the CP, USA. Classes in this school were conducted in English and dealt mainly with the theories of Marxism - Leninism.

BROWDER advised that the CP, USA had operated schools in the United States which were also concerned with the theories of Marxism - Leninism and were designed to instruct the members in Party leadership. He stated that the theory of counter-revolution was discussed at some of these schools but that this was strictly a theoretical course.

When discussing the Leninist school, BROWDER made the observation that at the time of the Spanish war many of the graduates of the school went directly to Spain to join the International Brigade. He recalled that many of the veterans of the International Brigade returned to Russia after the war only to find that they received poor treatment. He stated that these individuals looked to Russia as another homeland but was soon disenchanted as the Russians looked upon them with distrust and were unwilling to accept them fully.

BROWDER also commented on the fact that he believed that the Russians have always had a class system and have never done away with it completely. He stated that there are privileged citizens in Russia who receive first class treatment where there are others who are watched closely all the time. He also believed that there is still a strong group of Stalinists in Russia who are directly opposed to KHRUSHCHEV and his policies.

IV. MISCELLANEOUS

Informants who are acquainted with certain aspects of CP activity in the New York area were contacted in January, 1964, and advised that they had no information concerning the activities of the subject.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)(P)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - TOPLEV
IS - C

DATE: 2/24/64

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM - C

Remylet 12/27/63.

BROWDER was contacted on 1/21/64 and 2/10/64 for the purpose of setting up an appointment for an interview; however, on both occasions he asked that the appointment be held in abeyance because he was in ill health. BROWDER, in each instance, was cordial and asked that the Agent call back at a future date.

Efforts will continue to contact BROWDER and it is anticipated that he will be reinterviewed within two weeks. The Bureau will be advised promptly of the results.

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(1 - 40-3798)
- 1 - New York [redacted]
1 - New York (100-25693)#41
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EX-115

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)

DATE: 4/21/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)(P)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - TOPLEV
IS - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM - C

(OO: NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/01 BY [redacted]

Remylet 2/24/64.

On 4/7/64, SAs JAMES P. HALLERON and PHILLIP M. BROOKS contacted EARL RUSSELL BROWDER at his residence, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, for the purpose of continuing the discussion of BROWDER'S past history in the Communist Party. On this occasion BROWDER met the agents at the door in the same cordial manner he has exhibited on previous occasions, however, he immediately asked to be excused, stating that he had not been well and that he did not feel up to talking to the agents. He explained that he had suffered a slight stroke a few weeks ago and more recently was troubled with an attack of arthritis. He added that he felt sure he would feel well enough to see the agents in a few weeks and asked that the agents "keep in touch."

BROWDER will be recontacted within a thirty day period to determine the status of his health and his disposition toward another interview. The Bureau will be advised immediately of the results of the contact.

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EX-102

- ③ - Bureau (RM)
(1 - 40-3798)
- 1 - New York [redacted]
- 1 - New York (100-25693)#41

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UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

In Reply, Please Refer to
File No.

New York, New York
April 23, 1964

Bufile 40-3798
NYfile 100-25693

CONFIDENTIAL

Re: Earl Russell Browder

Earl Russell Browder resides at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, and is retired. Prior to his retirement he was occupied as a writer and lecturer, drawing on his experiences as head of the Communist Party (CP) until his expulsion in 1946. He was sentenced to two years for conspiracy in 1919, four years for passport violation in 1941, which sentence was commuted by the President in 1942, and was indicted for perjury in 1952, which indictment was dismissed in 1959. He is currently in poor health due to his age.

Browder is a male, white, American who was born on May 20, 1891, in Kansas. He is five feet, eight inches tall, weighs approximately one hundred seventy pounds and has gray hair and blue eyes.

Browder was a charter member of the CP and attained the position of General Secretary of the Party, which position he held for fifteen years. He was expelled from the Party in 1946, for advocating peaceful coexistence. In recent years he has characterized himself as a socialist and has expressed contempt for the CP.

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ON 11/19/61

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CC TO: [redacted]
REQ. REC'D. [redacted]
SEP 30 1965
ANS. BY: [redacted]

This document contains neither recommendations nor conclusions of the FBI. It is the property of the FBI and is loaned to your agency; it and its contents are not to be distributed outside your agency.

Copy to [redacted] NY 40-3798
by routing slip for
☒ info ☒ action
date 4/28/64
by [redacted]

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NOT RECORDED

23 APR 24 1964

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GROUP I

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)

DATE: 6/29/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)(P)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - TOPLEV
IS - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM - C

Remylet 4/23/64.

~~On 5/20/64~~, SAS PHILLIP M. BROOKS and JAMES P. HALLERON contacted EARL RUSSELL BROWDER at his residence, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, N.Y.

BROWDER stated that his health has improved very much and that he is perfectly willing to continue the discussions with the agents, however, he stated that he had a prior commitment and asked that the agents call back at a later date. Other than determining his health status and his ability to continue the interviews among other general conversation, no matters of pertinence were discussed.

On 6/9/64, SAS BROOKS and HALLERON reinterviewed BROWDER at his residence. He welcomed the agents in the same friendly manner he has displayed on previous occasions and a conversation and discussion of approximately one hour in length then ensued. BROWDER is currently using a cane to maintain his balance due to the slight stroke he suffered and the arthritis which is now afflicting him. He appeared somewhat weaker than on previous occasions, however, he was jovial, freer in his remarks and appeared to enjoy talking to the agents. As in the past, the interview was conducted on an informal basis with the agents interjecting questions to draw him out on various phases of his knowledge of the Communist Party (CP). The following is substantially the information derived from the interview:

In connection with the U.S. Supreme Court's decision on 6/8/64 not to review the case involving the registration of the CP, USA, BROWDER stated it would be a blow to the Party rather than a boon as the Party predicted in that, it is his opinion, the CP has been able to defend its low membership and lack of

③ - Bureau (RM)

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activity on the McCarran Act and that now they will not be able to hide behind this facade. He continued to downgrade the CP by stating that it had nothing to offer the people today.

FORMERLY AFFILIATED WITH C.P.

Regarding secret membership in the CP during his tenure as CP Leader, BROWDER stated that the talk of secret membership was highly overplayed as there was no need for such when they had all the "fellow travelers" that they needed. He allowed that there might have been a few who actually held CP membership and, because of their position, wished it kept secret, however, he added that no pressure was ever put on individuals in high places to become card carrying members when the CP was able to exact as much

influence and help from these persons as "fellow travelers." u.s.
Wrong! As an example, he volunteered the name of MIKE QUILL. He stated that QUILL was never a CP member, however, he was close to the CP and worked in close concert with the CP. He added that there was no need to ask QUILL to become a member when the CP was enjoying his cooperation and help as a "fellow traveler." He added that QUILL broke with the CP when the CP sought his support for WALLACE and his opposition to the raise in subway fare. When the break came, QUILL did not have to deny CP membership and, to top this, QUILL had the advantage through his close association with the CP, of knowing the identity of all CP members in the Transport Workers Union. According to BROWDER, QUILL quickly had all these CP members thrown out of the union.

Regarding JOE CURRAN, BROWDER stated that CURRAN worked along for awhile with the CP but not in as close a position as QUILL. He added that CURRAN's association with the CP was primarily for CURRAN's own personal advancement and not as an aid for the CP.

u.s. ASSOCIATED WITH C.P.

Regarding finances and Soviet money coming to the CP, USA, BROWDER iterated his statement that during his secretariatship the CP, USA, was financially secure and did not need assistance from the Russians. He stated that on practically every visit he made to the Soviet Union, which visits were more or less on an annual basis, he brought back money to this country. He said that this money represented repayment of funds which the CP, USA, had expended for Comintern business in the United States. The CP, USA, kept an account of the monies spent for printing and publishing for the Comintern in the U.S., and he would receive payment for these charges from the Comintern in Moscow. He stated that to his recollection the largest sum he brought back was approximately \$20,000.00 in United States currency. He never experienced any difficulty in bringing the money into this country.

Regarding further monetary exchanges by the CP,USA, BROWDER stated that the CP,USA, helped out foreign CP's by sending them money and then deducted the amount sent from the CP,USA's dues to the Comintern. As an example, he cited that during the occupation of France, the CP,USA, forwarded money whenever possible to the French CP, the amounts ranging as high as \$5,000.00 at a time.

One of the largest sums of money BROWDER was given to distribute and handle was \$50,000.00 from the Russians for the purpose of aiding American volunteers in the Spanish Civil War. He could not recall who delivered the money to him, but it was given to him in the United States..

The subject of Party "angels" was discussed at one point and BROWDER stated that the CP,USA, had five or six millionaires who could be counted on at all times to aid the Party in its fund drives. He said that they were always good for five or ten thousand during the usual fund drives and also could be depended upon for various functions run for the benefit of the Party. He mused a bit on this subject and attempted to recall the names of important "angels," however, he stated that he could not recall their names directly and apologized for the fact that his memory for names has been slipping of late. He stated that he would reflect on this matter and attempt to discuss it further at a future date. He appeared sincere in this statement and in his efforts to recall these people directly.

In a passing reference to the [redacted] BROWDER stated that in the beginning of the Spanish Civil War the [redacted] threw many obstacles in the way of the American volunteers, however, during the course of the conflict these obstacles were overcome and passports were readily obtained. He did not elaborate on this statement and time did not allow for further discussion.

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Regarding CP,USA, and Soviet schools, BROWDER stated that the schools run by the CP,USA, were far superior to those run by the Soviets. He qualified this statement by saying that in the Soviet schools the members were taught to be strict dogmatists with the result that when they were faced with an emergency not covered in their teaching, they panicked and were unable to control

the situation. On the other hand, the American CP 'taught the members from a practical viewpoint so that they were equipped to handle a situation when it arose. Also the CP,USA, during his time trained individuals for the underground and tested it out, however, they disbanded this training as the underground did not work out as planned. He attributed this failure to the fact that Americans are not geared to this type of intrigue and could not carry it out efficiently.

BROWDER was asked if the Comintern or the Soviets maintained a representative at CP headquarters to check on the CP,USA. He replied that the Comintern did keep a man in headquarters in the capacity of an observer. He stated that all records and meetings were open to this individual and, in addition, this representative was allowed to speak at meetings and give his viewpoint on matters. He stated that they did not have the power to overrule the vote of the meetings but they did have a way of imposing their views. These individuals were mainly observers for Stalin.

During the interview BROWDER was cordial, talkative and apparently in good spirits. The interview was restricted to generalities and to keep the meeting on an informal relationship, no notes were taken, however, at the termination of the discussion BROWDER was requested to attempt to recall more specifically the topics discussed. He stated that he would try to remember the names of the individuals brought out in the conversation in the course of the interview on this date.

In view of BROWDER's apparent spirit of cooperation, more specific questions will be posed to him in future interviews. The Bureau will be kept advised of the results of the contacts made.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. W. C. Sullivan *WCS*

DATE: 7/7/64

FROM : Mr. J. F. Bland *JFB*

1 - Mr. Sullivan
 1 - Mr. Bland
 1 - Mr. Haack
 1 - Mr. Glascock

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
 SECURITY MATTER - C

Tolson _____
 Belmont _____
 Mohr _____
 Casper _____
 Callahan _____
 Conrad _____
 DeLoach _____
 Evans _____
 Gale _____
 Rosen _____
 Sullivan _____
 Tavel _____
 Trotter _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holmes _____
 Gandy _____

Attached is a copy of information furnished the Bureau by Frank A. Capell, a former criminal informant of the New York Office, concerning Earl Russell Browder. The information as set out is more or less accurate and in agreement with information already contained in the Bureau's file concerning Browder.

Earl Browder's [redacted] is an intelligent and well educated person who was at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Princeton and Cornell Universities and has been at the Institute for Advanced Studies, Princeton University, for several years. He has never been connected in any way with subversive organizations or activities and has not been the subject of FBI investigation.

Earl Browder's name is included in the Security Index. There is no new information concerning Browder furnished by Capell and no action is warranted.

RECOMMENDATION:

None, for information.

Enclosure *JFB*40-3798 *mt*

1 - [redacted]

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EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

Earl Browder was born May 20, 1891 at Wichita, Kansas, the son of William Browder and Martha Hankins. He has three sons: [REDACTED]

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The subject was formerly General Chairman of the C.P.-U.S.A. from 1930 to 1944. He still resides at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, telephone - Yonkers 3-5777. He was supposedly expelled from the Party in 1946 but on a trip to the Soviet Union was given a franchise whereby he receives a commission on Russian books imported to the U. S. His former wife, Raissa Berkman Browder, now deceased, was a Soviet intelligence agent, who came to the U. S. illegally. When she was about to be deported arrangements were made for her to re-enter the U. S. legally from Canada. Her sponsor was Eleanor Roosevelt.

✓ Earl Browder has a son who is employed at the Institute for Advanced Studies at Princeton, New Jersey as an Engineer, along with George Kennan and others who have been friendly to the Soviet Union.

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ENCLOSURE

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UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-3-99)

DATE: 8/5/64

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: CP, USA - TOPLEV
IS. - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM - C
(OO:NY)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
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DATE 12/20/01 BY

On 7/23/64, SAs JAMES P. HALLERON and PHILLIP M. BROOKS recontacted BROWDER at his residence, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York.

BROWDER appeared to be in good health, although he advised that he is still limited in his activities and has to take things easy. He appeared to be at ease with the agents and the interview was conducted in an informal manner as on previous occasions, however, on this occasion SA BROOKS made a few notes during the conversation and BROWDER did not appear to object or to curtail his stated opinions on matters under discussion.

C. P. MEMBERS

Concerning the "Party angels" whose names he could not recall during the last interview, BROWDER stated that he recalled the names of LOUISE BRANSTEN, FREDERICK VANDERBILT FIELD and DAN GILLMOR. BRANSTEN he characterized as being very generous and always ready to help the Party. He stated that he did not know her to be a Communist Party member directly, however, he was of the opinion that she probably was a member of the CP. He stated that FIELD was a member of the CP and that he, too, could always be counted on for funds whenever the Party needed him. DAN GILLMOR was said to be the son of an Admiral in the U.S. Navy. GILLMOR was said to be a very wealthy person whose family fortune was derived from the Sperry Gyroscope Company. Funds were readily made available by GILLMOR.

③ - Bureau (RM)

- (1 - 40-)
- 1 - NY [redacted]
- 1 - NY 100-57639; Louise Bransten
- 1 - NY 100-14419; Frederick Field
- 1 - NY 100-86896; Alfred Stern
- 1 - NY 100-65568; Martha Dodd Stern
- 1 - NY 100-18065; Jack Stachel (#42)
- 1 - NY 100-21421; Alex Trachtenberg
- 1 - NY 100-10171; Dan Gillmor
- 1 - NY 100-25693 (#41)

PMB:IM

64 AUG 19 1964

Record File copy
in 100-3-102 (Funds)
Ug

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[initials]

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NY 100-25693

During this conversation, BROWDER was asked about MARTHA DODD and ALFRED K. STERN. He replied that the STERNS did not mix too much or too well with the Party people and consequently were not too free with their money. He stated that he knew the DODD family through the son who was active in the Anti-Imperialist movement. The son introduced BROWDER to Ambassador DODD. He added that he knew nothing directly of any connection that the STERNS had in the espionage field, however, he had heard gossip after his expulsion from the Party that the STERNS were mixed up in espionage. He did not identify the source of the gossip.

BROWDER stated, when asked, that JACK STACHEL was a capable enough person who held many positions of importance within the Party, however, he never could completely make up his mind about STACHEL. He stated that STACHEL was constantly in and out with the powers that be and that he could change his alignments with the greatest facility. STACHEL was an indefatigable worker for the Party, however, due to the ease with which he, STACHEL, could alter his stand on matters, BROWDER never could completely make up his mind as to "what made STACHEL tick."

ALEXANDER TRACHTENBERG was said to be an individual who carried on his publishing outfit as his main concern. BROWDER described him as a "proud Russian" who never forgot his heritage and one who liked the special honor of being appointed the head of any special committee set up by the CP. He stated that TRACHTENBERG had nothing but his publishing firm and was not important to the CP as a financial backer.

The remaining subjects dealt with in the interview were very general in nature and no specific items of pertinence to Bureau files were brought out. BROWDER appeared at ease and, as stated above, did not object or appear disturbed when a few notes were made during the interview. In view of this fact, on the next interview agents will be more specific in their questioning and will attempt to derive more specific answers from BROWDER. The Bureau will be kept advised of the results of the interview.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

REC-11p. 2

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (~~100-3-99~~)

FROM : *JFM* SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)(C)

SUBJECT: CPUSA - TOPLEV
IS - C

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM - C

DATE: 10/6/64

*noted
RFB*

(OO:NY)

RENYlet, 8/5/64.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/24/01 BY

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mz
2
On 9/30/64, SAS JAMES P. HALLERON and PHILLIP M. BROOKS interviewed BROWDER at his residence, 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York. As on previous occasions, BROWDER was warm in his reception of the agents and appeared pleased at the opportunity to spend the time talking to the agents. He appeared to be in better health, however, he stated that he is still limited in his activities on advice of his doctor.

After a conversation of a general nature, agents introduced the subject of the CP by asking BROWDER his reaction to the high tribute paid by the Soviet Union to ELIZABETH GURLEY FLYNN on her death. BROWDER commented that this was all for show, not so much to impress the American public but to show the Russians the solidarity that exists amongst the Communists. He added that FLYNN was nothing but a Party hack, that she was not a theoretician and was never politically astute but was merely used by the CP as a figurehead.

In drawing BROWDER out on his opinion of the influence of the Russians upon the CP, USA, BROWDER stated that in his estimation the Soviet Union has discounted the CP, USA as a political or influential organization since the "Wallace fiasco" in 1948. He explained that the Russians counted heavily on the CP, USA, being able to swing the election of Wallace as President in the 1948 election in the hope that they, the Russians, would be able to work closely with Wallace, if elected. He added that in the 1944 elections,

- 3 - Bureau (RM)
- (1 - 40-3798)
- 1 - New York
- 1 - New York (41)

EX-130

REC 8

40-3798-865

18 OCT 7 1964

PMB:bam

815 RB

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DATE 12/24/01 BY



61 OCT 11 1964

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

Payroll
INT. SEC.
CONFIDENTIAL

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-3-99

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b7E

NY 100-25693

Wallace's campaign manager had approached him in an effort to have the CP back Wallace as a vice-presidential candidate. BROWDER stated that he refused to offer his assistance on the basis that the CP was pleased with the way things were going under Roosevelt and that they preferred to do nothing that would change the status quo.

BROWDER stated that at that time Roosevelt had not made any decision as to vice-presidential candidate but left the decision to SIDNEY HILLMAN. BROWDER described HILLMAN as being friendly toward the CP and that it was HILLMAN who opened the way for the Communists to membership in the American Labor Party (ALP). The CP capitalized on this opportunity and eventually were able to exert great influence in the ALP.

BROWDER was asked pointedly concerning the Communist theory of force and violence in obtaining their ultimate goal. On this point he stated that this theory was never advanced during his secretariatship and that in 1938, he personally rewrote the constitution of the CP, USA and included in it that the theory of force and violence would not only not be followed but would also be banned as a point of discussion within the party.

Regarding the use of CP members as agents of the Soviets, BROWDER stated that he was never aware of any being so used during his period of leadership. He stated that it was possible that the Russians might have used ex-members, however, the only person who might know of such activity would be the Comintern representative in the US. He stressed the point that it was not customary to use CP members for this purpose in view of the fact that these individuals would be known as CP members and would be useless as secret agents. On this point he also stated that during his regime the CP acted openly and did not attempt to cover its activities. He stated that when the Dies Committee called upon him he readily furnished the Committee with all the records that the Committee wished.

NY 100-25693

The remaining subjects dealt with in the interview were mainly general in nature and it is the opinion of the interviewing agents that BROWDER, though completely affable and willing to talk with the agents, nonetheless is not willing to admit to any errors in action or in judgement. It is apparent that he feels that whatever he did was in the cause of Socialism and was not against the best interests of the US. In view of these facts it is felt that further interviews with BROWDER on a regular continuing basis are not warranted and this case is being placed in a closed status in the NYO. Periodic informal contacts will be made with BROWDER to maintain the liaison that has been established. The Bureau will be advised of the results of future contacts.

SAC, New York (100-25693)

2/16/65

REC-135

Director, FBI (40-3798) - 866

1 - Mr. Haack
1 - Mr. Kitchens

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C

Reurlet 2/3/65 and FD-122a of same date.

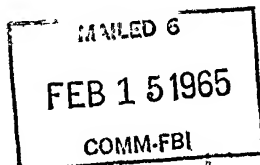
The Bureau does not concur with your recommendation that Browder's name be removed from the Security Index. In this regard, it does not appear that he has completely broken with his past and certainly he has withheld information of value when interviewed by Bureau Agents. You should resubmit your recommendation at the time you submit your next annual report on Browder.

In view of the above, no action is being taken on your recommendation that Browder's name be included in Section A of the Reserve Index.

NOTE:

Browder resides in Yonkers, New York, and is retired. He was a charter member of the CP, USA, and was expelled from the Party in 1946 for advocating peaceful coexistence. He was General Secretary of the CP, USA, for 15 years preceding 1946. He was sentenced to two years in 1919 for conspiracy, four years for passport violation in 1941, and was indicted for perjury in 1952 which indictment was dismissed in 1959. In recent years he has characterized himself as a socialist and has expressed contempt for the CP. Last interviewed September 30, 1964, and partially cooperative.

TWK:ssh
(5)



Tolson _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
DeLoach _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

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DATE 5/5/99 BY



67 FEB 18 1965

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

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b7C

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO: *JAM*
FROM: *JAM*
SUBJECT: *C*
DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)
SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693) (P)
EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C

DATE: 2/3/65

205
25
Retain SI
TWP
- 10A
JFB

Rerep of SA JAMES E. GORDON, dated and captioned as above.

BROWDER, who was born 5/20/1891 in Wichita, Kansas, became interested in Socialism at an early age and reportedly joined the Socialist Party when he was 15 years of age. During World War I he was imprisoned for failure to register for the Draft. Following the war, he became affiliated with the CP and was active in the Labor Movement of the Day. He was active in the Workers Party of America and from 1921 to 1926 he was assistant to WILLIAM. Z. FOSTER in a movement for Amalgamation and a Labor Party led by the Trade Union Educational League within the Federation of Labor. He was sent to Moscow to work for a year in the Red International of Labor Unions. He later attended the 6th and 7th Plenary Sessions of the Communist International as a representative of the American Party. From 1927 to 1929, BROWDER worked in China as an Agent of the Comintern and was supposedly performing Trade Union work. *USA*

BROWDER returned to the US in 1930 and became active in CP, USA. He was General Secretary from the early 1930's to 1944. In 1945, he served as President of the CPA and in 1946 he was expelled from CP, USA.

During the period prior to 1946, BROWDER was also connected with a number of organizations which were affiliated with the CP such as the International Labor Defense, the American League for Peace and Democracy, and the International Workers Order. He also wrote several books relating to Communism.

let to NY
TWK:ash
2/16/65
2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - New York

JEG:nbc
(3)

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DATE 5/5/99 BY [REDACTED]

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JUV. CONTROL

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NY 100-25693

It is to be noted that at the time BROWDER was expelled from the CP, he was accused of having betrayed the principles of Marxism-Leninism and deserting to the side of the American monopolists.

BROWDER reportedly applied to the CP for re-instatement in 1948, and his application was rejected.

Information was received that BROWDER considered rejoining the CP only because his application had been accepted, but would have been a vindication of the position he had taken which had led to his expulsion from the Party.

Information had been received at various times which indicated that BROWDER had knowledge of Espionage activities during the period that he had been active as Secretary of the CP, USA.

On several occasions when interviewed, BROWDER denied having information of any espionage activity.

It is to be noted that at the present time BROWDER who is 73 years of age, has suffered a slight stroke and is incapacitated to some degree by arthritis.

He has been interviewed by Bureau Agents on several occasions during the past 18 months. He has been courteous during these interviews and has discussed matters in a general way. It is to be noted that although BROWDER has had no connection with the CP since 1946, he has maintained contact with individuals with whom he had been associated in the Party. Many of these individuals in recent years have defected from the Party and ^{some} have become opposed to the Party. Some of these individuals had attempted to set up organizations in opposition to the CP. There has been no indication that BROWDER joined in such activities. It would appear that he had been more of a Counselor to the individuals who had left the CP.

NY 100-25693

In view of BROWDER's age and his physical condition and because he has not been active in any revolutionary organization since 1946, it is recommended that he be removed from the SI.

Because of his background with the CP and because of the fact that he has been a writer for many years, it is recommended that he be placed on the Reserve Index Section A and an FD-122A is attached herewith so recommending.

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

REPORTING OFFICE NEW YORK	OFFICE OF ORIGIN NEW YORK	DATE 2/3/65	INVESTIGATIVE PERIOD 12/17/64 - 1/21/65
TITLE OF CASE EARL RUSSELL BROWDER aka		REPORT MADE BY JAMES E. GORDON	TYPED BY nbc
		CHARACTER OF CASE SM-C	

REFERENCE:

Report of SA JAMES E. GORDON, dated 1/21/64, at NY.

- P -

ADMINISTRATIVE

Interviews which were conducted with BROWDER during 1964, were handled by SAS JAMES P. HALLERON and PHILIP M. BROOKS. The results of the interviews which were conducted have not been set out in full in instant report because much of the material consisted of BROWDER's views and interpretations of various matters and were not pertinent to his own activities. It is to be noted that the interview conducted 7/23/64, which was set out in a letter to the Bureau dated 8/5/64, was not referred to because all the discussion concerned various individuals. Material relating to the individuals BROWDER mentioned, has been disseminated to the individual case files. With regard to the other

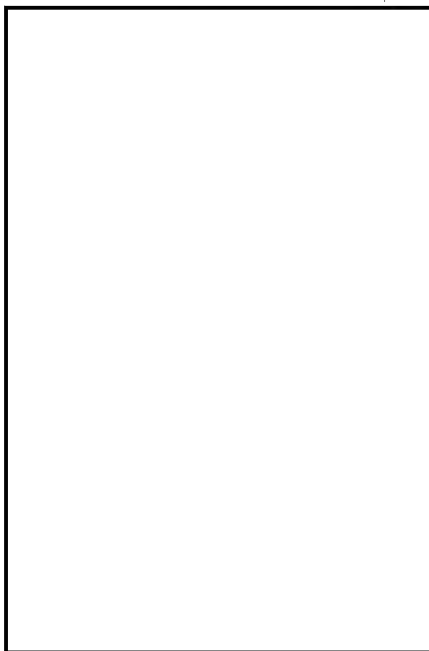
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4 - Bureau (40-3798) ✓ 3 - New York (100-25693) ✓		<div style="font-size: 2em; font-weight: bold;">40-3798-867</div> <div style="font-weight: bold; margin-top: 10px;">REC-16</div> <div style="font-weight: bold; margin-top: 10px;">FEB 4 1965</div>	
		ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE <u>5/25/99</u> BY <u>[redacted]</u>	
DISSEMINATION RECORD OF ATTACHED REPORT <i>yes RX</i>		NOTATIONS <i>SOB. [redacted]</i>	
AGENCY.....	<div style="border: 1px solid black; padding: 5px; float: right; text-align: center;"> CC TO: <i>[redacted]</i> REQ. REC'D. <i>[redacted]</i> SEP 30 1965 ANS. BY: <i>[redacted]</i> </div>		
REQUEST RECD.			
DATE FWD.			
HOW FWD.			
BY.....			

NY 100-25693

interviews which were conducted, the same practice has been followed. The information concerning individuals was disseminated to the case files of the individuals and has not been set out in instant report.

INFORMANTS

Informants who were contacted in December, 1964 and who advised that they were unable to furnish information concerning the activities of BROWDER are as follows:



b7D

LEAD

NEW YORK

- B -
COVER PAGE

NY 100-25693

AT NEW YORK, NEW YORK Will await Bureau's decision with regard to removing the subject from the SI and placing him on RIA.

- C -
COVER PAGE

NY 100-25693

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.
6. ☐ This report is classified _____ because (state reason)

7/22/63, 8/27/63, 10/25/63,
12/20/63, 4/7/64, 5/20/64,
6/9/64, 7/23/64 and 9/30/64.

7. ☒ Subject previously interviewed (dates) _____.
- ☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) _____
the last interview conducted on 9/30/64, led interviewing agents to the opinion that further interviews on a regular basis are not warranted at this time.

8. ☒ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
9. ☐ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)

10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☒ is ☐ is not tabbed Detcom.
- ☐ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons)
of his background of training in the USSR and the high position he held for many years in CP, USA.

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

Copy to:

Report of: JAMES E. GORDON
Date: 2/3/65

Office: - New York, New York

Field Office File No.: 100-25693 ✓

Bureau File No.: 40-3798 ✓

Title: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER ✓

Character: SECURITY MATTER - C

Synopsis:

BROWDER resided at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, NY, as of 1/20/65, and considered as retired. He suffered a light stroke and had arthritis during past year. ✓ BROWDER advised in interviews that during his period of leadership in CP, USA talk of secret members was overplayed as CP had all the "fellow travellers" who were needed. He stated that USSR had not financed CP, USA but did make repayments for funds expended by CP, USA for Comintern matters. ✓ During his term as Secretary of CP, USA, theory of use of force and violence was never advanced and he re-wrote CP Constitution in 1938 and banned discussion of the topic within the Party. ✓ Informants in NY area have no information concerning present activities of subject.

- P -

DETAILS:I. PERSONAL BACKGROUNDA. Residence and Employment

[REDACTED] Yonkers,
New York, advised on January 20, 1965, that the subject

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DATE 5/25/99 BY [REDACTED]b6
b7C

NY 100-25693

continued to reside at 7 Highland Place, Yonkers, New York, and that he was a retired individual.

B. Status of Health

BROWDER advised Special Agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) on June 9, 1964, that he had suffered a light stroke and that he was afflicted with arthritis.

II. INTERVIEWS WITH SUBJECT

On June 9, 1964, BROWDER advised Special Agents of the FBI that during the period he had been a leader in the Communist Party (CP), the talk of secret membership had been highly overplayed as there was no need for such type of members at the time because the CP had all the "fellow travellers" that were needed. He stated that there might have been a few individuals who actually had CP membership and because of their position, wished it kept secret, but he added, that there was no pressure brought to bear on individuals in high places to become card carrying members when the CP was able to exact as much influence and help on these individuals while they were not actually carrying membership cards.

BROWDER advised on June 9, 1964, that during the period that he was Secretary of the CP, USA the organization was financially secure and assistance from Soviet Russia was not needed. He advised that on almost every visit he made to the Soviet, which were almost on an annual basis, that he brought back money to this country. This money represented repayment of funds which the CP, USA had expended for Comintern business in the United States. The CP, USA kept an account of the money spent for printing and publishing for the Comintern in the United States and he would receive payment for these charges from the Comintern in Moscow.

NY 100-25693

On September 30, 1964, BROWDER advised Special Agents of the FBI that during the period that he was Secretary of the CP, USA he never advanced the theory of force and violence as a means of obtaining the ultimate goal of the Communists. He pointed out that in 1938, he personally re-wrote the Constitution of the CP, USA and included in it that the theory of force and violence would not only not be followed but would also be banned as a point of discussion within the Party.

During this interview, BROWDER stated that he was never aware of CP members being used as Agents of the Soviets. He stressed the point that it was not customary to use CP members as secret agents because these individuals would have been known by CP members and thus, would have been useless as secret agents. He pointed out that under his leadership, the CP acted openly and did not attempt to cover its activities in any way.

III. MISCELLANEOUS

A. Informants

Confidential informants who are acquainted with certain aspects of CP activity in the New York City and Westchester County areas were contacted in December, 1964, and advised that they had no information concerning the present activities of the subject.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile 40-3798)) DATE: 2/3/65

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693) (P)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM-C☒ It is recommended that a "Section A" Reserve Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.☐ The "Section A" Reserve Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name EARL RUSSELL BROWDER			
Aliases Earl Browder, Joseph Dixon, Joseph Ward, Albert Underwood, Earl Russell, Earl Wingate, Earl W. Ringrose, Irl Broder, Nicholas Dozenberg, George Morris, Albert Henry Richards, Mr. Porter			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input type="checkbox"/> Alien	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party		
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____			
Date of birth 5/20/91	Place of birth Wichita, Kansas	Race White	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address) Retired			
Key Facility Data Geographical Reference Number _____ Responsibility _____ Interested Agencies _____			
Residence Address 7 Highland Ave., Yonkers, NY.			

2 - Bureau (40-3798) (CRM)
1 - New York (100-25693)
JEG:nbc
(3)

6 FEB 4 1965

REGISTERED MAIL

SUB CONTROL

NY 100-25693

Subject was a member of the Socialist Party before World War I and joined the CP after World War I. He was active in Workers Party and CP and Labor Union Matters from 1920 to 1927. During 1927 to 1930, he was in Russia and later in China and a representative of the Comintern. Subject served as General Secretary, CP, USA from 1930 to 1944 and is President of the CPA in 1945. He expelled from CP, USA in 1946, and since that time has had no connection with the CP. Subsequent to 1946, subject made his living as a writer and lecturer and publishers representative. At the present time, subject who is in poor health, is considered retired.

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO :

DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798) ✓

DATE: 1/5/66

FROM :

SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693) (RUC)

SUBJECT:

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER aka ✓
SM-C

Posted
1-11
Delete from SI
Letter to Dept. for
review of SS status
Om
JW/B

Rerep of SA JAMES E. GORDON dated 2/3/65 at NY;
Bulet to NY dated 2/16/65; NKlet to NY (IO) 12/14/65.

Residence and Employment

JACK ASH, U.S. Postal Mail Carrier, Princeton, NJ, advised SA NORMAN A. HENDRICKS on 12/7/65; that he delivered mail to an older man at 21 Maple St., Princeton under the name EARL BROWDER. This individual appeared to be retired as he was around the house every day.

Mrs. G. GERRITY, Post Office Inspector's Office, Yonkers, NY, advised on 10/14/65, that a change of address was on file which showed that subject had moved to 21 Maple St., Princeton, NJ.

FD 128 mod 1/5/66
Tgm

[redacted], Yonkers, NY, advised that the subject had moved from that address during the Summer of 1965, and was living with a son at Princeton, NJ.

Health Status

[redacted] advised on 10/7/65, that subject had had a stroke sometime ago and was affected to some extent. He also had arthritis. As a result of the two, he walked with some difficulty and was not as physically active as he had been.

Informants

The following informants were contacted during November, 1965, and advised that they were unable to furnish information concerning the activities of the subject:

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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/25/99 BY [redacted]

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Newark (100-48654) (RM)

3 JAN 19 1966
JEG:smv

(5) Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

SUBV. CONTROL

DEPT. APPROVED 2/2/61 (see memo 2/20/61)
NK is new OO.

Let to AAG,
Internal
Security
Division
1/13/65
1-NK wwp/tech



NY 100-25693

b7D

Request of Bureau

In accordance with instructions in Bureau letter to NY 2/16/65;

A review of the subject's file reflected that he was expelled from the CP in 1946. Since that time, there has been no indication of membership in subversive organizations on his part.

Subject was interviewed by Bureau Agents on several occasions during 1963 and 1964 and while he talked in general terms, he did not reveal any information relating to Espionage nor would he admit control of the CP by the USSR.

It is felt that subject might not have been completely cooperative during the interviews, but in view of his health, and age, it is believed that he does not constitute a threat against the security of the US at the present time.

In view of this, it is recommended that subject be removed from SI and be placed on RI, Section A.

An FD-122A is enclosed herewith so recommending.

The Bureau should advise NI of its decision with regard to this recommendation.

LEAD

NEWARK

AT PRINCETON, NEW JERSEY. Will await Bureau action with regard to NY recommendation that subject be removed from SI and placed on RI-A.

NY 100-25693

1. ☒ Subject's name is included in the Security Index.
 2. ☒ The data appearing on the Security Index card are current.
 3. ☐ Changes on the Security Index card are necessary and Form FD-122 has been submitted to the Bureau.
 4. ☒ A suitable photograph ☒ is ☐ is not available.
 5. ☐ Subject is employed in a key facility and _____ is charged with security responsibility. Interested agencies are _____.
 6. ☐ This report is classified _____ because (state reason)
- 7/22/63; 8/27/63; 10/25/63;
12/20/63; 4/7/64; 5/20/64;
- c
7. ☒ Subject previously interviewed (dates) 6/9/64; 7/23/64; 9/30/64
☒ Subject was not reinterviewed because (state reason) _____
when subject last interviewed on 9/30/64, interviewing agents formed opinion that further interviews on a regular basis were not warranted.
 8. ☒ This case no longer meets the Security Index criteria and a letter has been directed to the Bureau recommending cancellation of the Security Index card.
 9. ☐ This case has been re-evaluated in the light of the Security Index criteria and it continues to fall within such criteria because (state reason)
 10. ☒ Subject's SI card ☐ is ☐ is not tabbed Detcom.
☒ Subject's activities warrant Detcom tabbing because (state reasons) _____
subject's activities not believed to warrant continued tabbing for DETCOM because of his physical condition.



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE
FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION
New York, New York
January 5, 1965

In Reply, Please Refer to

File No. BUfile 40-3798 ✓
NYfile 100-25693

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER ✓

REFERENCE: MEMORANDUM 4/23/64 ✓

Referenced communication contained subject's residence and/or employment address. A recent change has been determined and is being set forth below (change only specified):

Residence: 21 Maple Street, Princeton, New Jersey

Employment: Retired

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/99 BY [redacted]

40-3798

NOT RECORDED
JAN 10 1966

FD-128 DETACHED ✓

Copy to Secret Service
by routing slip for

☒ info ☐ action

date 1-13-66

by Tgm/aa

SUBV CONTROL
m. j. [signature]

b6
b7c

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile - 40-3798)
FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)
SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER aka
SM-C

DATE: 1/5/66 ✓

Cards UTD
Cards Sent 00
1/12/66
ce

The captioned individual has been the subject of a security investigation by this office. The Newark Division has verified the permanent presence of the subject in its division as residing and working at the addresses listed below. The Newark Division is being considered the new office of origin.

Residence address

21 Maple St., Princeton, NJ

Business address

Retired ~~at above address~~

Check the following applicable statements:

- ☒ This individual is the subject of a Security Index Card. (The Bureau is requested to make the appropriate changes in the Security Index at the Seat of Government. The Newark Division should affix the addresses indicated above and the appropriate case file number.)
- ☒ This subject is tabbed for Detcom.
- ☐ This subject was carried as a Key Figure or Top Functionary.
- ☐ Handwriting specimens have been furnished to the Bureau.
- ☐ A photograph has been furnished to the Bureau.
- ☒ A security flash notice has been placed with the Identification Division and a copy has been designated therefor.

The following pertinent items are being forwarded to the new Office of Origin with its copies of this letter:

- ☒ Security Index Cards
- ☒ Serials (specify) See attached list
- ☒ Photograph of subject (check appropriate item listed below)
- ☒ Negative and three copies of most recent or best likeness photograph.
- ☐ None available.
- ☐ Previously furnished.

Registered Mail

CC: 3 - Bureau
(1 - Identification Division)
2 - Newark (100-48654) (Enc 29)
1 - New York

JEG:smv
(6)

40-3798-870

JAN 10 1966

REC-109

SUBV. CONTROL

M. E. ROW

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/99 BY

NY 100-25693

Serials for Newark Division:

Report of SA JAMES E. GORDON dated 2/3/65 at NY
Report of SA JAMES E. GORDON dated 1/31/64 at NY
Report of SA JAMES E. GORDON dated 11/30/62 at NY
Report of SA JAMES E. GORDON dated 11/24/61 at NY
Report of SA JAMES E. GORDON dated 11/25/60 at NY
Report of SA THOMAS J. CROKE dated 11/11/59 at NY
Report of SA THOMAS J. CROKE dated 11/19/58 at NY and
administrative letter
Report of SA THOMAS J. CROKE dated 12/20/57 at NY and
administrative letter
Summary Report of SA JAMES E. HANLON dated 12/31/56 at NY

Letters to Director entitled "CPUSA-TOPLEV, IS-C and EARL
RUSSELL BROWDER, SM-C" setting out results of interview
with subject dated 10/6/64; 8/5/64; 4/21/64; 2/10/64; 12/27/63;
10/25/63; 9/13/63; 7/25/63;

Copy of memorandum dated April 23, 1964 which was sent to
Secret Service.

NYlet to Bureau dated 2/3/65

Bulet to NY dated 2/16/65.

SECRET

Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

January 13, 1966

Director, FBI

1 - Mr. Glascock
1 - Mr. McNiff

EMERGENCY DETENTION PROGRAM

The name of the subject appearing below has been approved for inclusion in the Security Index by the Internal Security Division of the Department.

Name: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER

FBI File Number: 40-3798

406 077-001
DECLASSIFIED BY [REDACTED]
ON 11/19/01

b6
b7c

Department Approved: February 6, 1961

Date of Last Report: February 3, 1965

Investigation has failed to develop evidence of recent subversive activities or affiliations on the part of the subject. All pertinent information concerning the reported past subversive activities of the subject has been furnished the Records Administration Office.

It is requested that the results of the investigation be reviewed to determine whether the subject's name should continue to be included in the Security Index.

100-398030

1 - New York (100-25693)

40-3798-
NOT RECORDED
46 JAN 18 1966

NOTE: SAC, NEW YORK

Pending receipt of reply from Department, subject's name will be retained in Security Index.

1 - 40-3798 (Browder)

NOTE: Letter classified "Secret" as pertains to Special Agent component parts of which are so classified by the Department.

WNP/ssh

(6)

53 JAN 19 1966

DUPLICATE YELLOW

SECRET

GROUP 1
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassification

ORIGINAL FILED IN 100-3

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 40-3798)

FROM : SAC, NEW YORK (100-25693)

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER aka
SM-C

DATE: 1/5/66

Re: _____

☒ It is recommended that a "Section A" Reserve Index Card be prepared on the above-captioned individual.

☐ The "Section A" Reserve Index Card on the captioned individual should be changed as follows (specify change only):

Name EARL RUSSELL BROWDER			
Aliases Earl Browder , Joseph Dixon, Joseph Ward, Albert Underwood Earl Russell , Ear Wingate, Earl W. Ringrose, Albert Henry Richards, Mr. Porter			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Native Born		<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Communist		<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party	
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____			
Date of birth 5/20/91	Place of birth Wichita, Kansas	Race white	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address) ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 5/5/99 BY [redacted] Retired			
Key Facility Data [redacted]		b6 b7C	
Geographical Reference Number _____		Responsibility _____	
Interested Agencies _____			
Residence Address 21 Maple St., Princeton, NJ			

REGISTERED MAIL

2 - Bureau
2 - Newark (100-48654)
1 - New York

SUBV CONTROL

M. E. ROW

Cancelled
FEB 8 1966

SAC, New York (100-25693)

2/4/66

REC- 81

Director, FBI (40-3798) 872

1 - Mr. Glascock

1 - Mr. McNiff

EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SECURITY MATTER - C

Security Index card cancelled
2/7/66
an

ReBulet to the Department dated 1/13/66
captioned "Emergency Detention Program," a copy of
which was furnished your office.

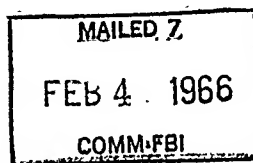
By letter dated 1/26/66, the Department
advised that the subject's name should be removed
from the Security Index. This action has been
taken at the Bureau and similar action should be
taken with respect to the cards maintained in your
office.

1 - 100-398030 (Emergency Detention Program)

NOTE: Letter submitted in lieu of a report 1/5/66

WNP/ssh
(6) sch

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Wick _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____



ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 5/5/99 BY #

b6
b7C
UN

FEB 7 3 15 PM '66

TELETYPE UNIT

806

94D - deletion

100-398030-1
ORDERED COPY FILED IN

United States Government
MEMORANDUM~~SECRET~~To: Director
Federal Bureau of InvestigationDate: January 26 1966From: *[Signature]* Assistant Attorney General
Internal Security Division

Security Index card cancelled

Subject: INDEX REVIEW

Re: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER*File in*

FBI No.

40-3798cc: 100-398030

Reports of investigation have been reviewed as requested

by you on Jan. 13, 1966.It has been determined that indexing of this case for future
review should be☐ continued☒ discontinuedCommentary: *[Signature]*DECLASSIFIED BY for DOJ let 2/11/74
ON 11/14/01
EX-112-0140-3798-8722-10
5 JAN 28 1966cc: FBI
ISD-SO
Dept. 146-012-18-2 *ee*700 30 2 18 6H, ee
~~SECRET~~GROUP 1 DIA
Excluded from automatic
downgrading and
declassificationUNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-398030-*Let to NY
2/4/66
w NP/ech**[Signature]*
[Signature]
[Signature]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Director, FBI (Bufile- 40-3798)

DATE: 2/15/66

FROM : SAC, Newark (100-48654) -P-

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER
SM - C

See our 871
no action. Subject ahead
included in RI-A by NY FOI
dated 1/5/66, and returned
to NK by date of 3/1/66.
NK advised by 8-9
TJM

☒ It is recommended that a "Section A"
Reserve Index Card be prepared on
the above-captioned individual.

☐ The "Section A" Reserve Index
Card on the captioned individual
should be changed as follows
(specify change only):

Name EARL RUSSELL BROWDER			
Aliases Earl Browder, Joseph Dixon, Joseph Ward, Albert Underwood, Earl Russell, Earl Wingate, Earl W. Ringrose, Irl Broder, Nicholas Dozenberg, George Morris, Albert Henry Richards, Mr. Porter			
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Native Born	<input type="checkbox"/> Naturalized	<input type="checkbox"/> Alien	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Communist	<input type="checkbox"/> Socialist Workers Party		
<input type="checkbox"/> Miscellaneous (specify) _____			
Date of birth 5/20/91	Place of birth Wichita, Kansas	Race White	Sex <input checked="" type="checkbox"/> Male <input type="checkbox"/> Female
Business Address (show name of employing concern and address) Retired			
<div style="text-align: right;"> ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED DATE 12/20/01 BY [redacted] </div>			
Key Facility Data			
Geographical Reference Number _____		Responsibility _____	
Interested Agencies _____		40-3798-873	
Residence Address 21 Maple Street Princeton, N.J.			

b6
b7C

2-Bureau (40-3798) (RM)
1-Newark (100-48654)
NAH:las
(3)

REGISTERED MAIL

57 MAR 3 1966

SUBV. CONTROL

NK 100-48654

Subject was a member of the SOCIALIST PARTY before World War I and joined the CP after World War I. He was active in WORKERS PARTY, CP, and Labor Union matters from 1920 to 1927. During 1927 and 1930, he was in Russia and later in China and a representative of the Comintern. He served as General Secretary of the CP, USA from 1930 to 1944 and was President of the CPA in 1945. He was expelled from the CP, USA in 1946, and since that time has had no connection with the CP. Subject made his living as a writer and lecturer and publishers representative subsequent to 1946. At the present time, subject, who is in poor health, is retired and lives with a son.

[redacted] b6 b7C
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/01 BY [redacted]

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (40-3798)

DATE: 3/11/66

FROM : *RUB* SAC, NEWARK (100-48654) (8) (U)

SUBJECT: *old*
5 EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, aka
SM - C

Since the Bureau has placed the subject on the A Section of the Reserve Index and there are no other outstanding leads in this case, Newark is placing this case in a closed status.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/01 BY [redacted]

b6
b7c

E

EX-104 REC-48

40-3798-874
MAR 14 1966

1-0
2 - Bureau (RM)
1 - Newark
NAH:aas
(3)
UP

SUBV CONTROL



MAR 18 1966

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Tavel *STH*

FROM : L. E. Shon *LS*

SUBJECT: *all* EARL BROWDER;
IS-C

DATE: 1 - 31 - 68 *WST*

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

Bulky Exhibit File Number: 40-3798-44

We are in the process of reviewing all bulky exhibits in order that we may dispose of those which serve no further purpose. Inasmuch as many of the bulky exhibits pertain to inactive cases and are occupying badly needed space, it is requested that the appropriate substantive supervisor review the above-listed bulky exhibit and render a decision as to its retention or disposition. A notation as to the decision reached may be placed on this memorandum. The memorandum should be returned to the Filing Unit of the Records Branch, Room 1116, Identification Building, for filing in the case file.

RECOMMENDATION:

That captioned bulky exhibit be reviewed and a decision rendered as to the retention or disposition of the material.

b6
b7c

W LWB:drc

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/01 BY *[redacted]*

1/1/68
Retain
WST

40-3798-44
NOT RECORDED

186 FEB 7 1968

[Signature]

4-63

78 FEB 7 1968

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : Mr. Tavel *LT*

FROM : L. E. Short *LT*

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER;
INTERNAL SECURITY - C

DATE: 1-31-68 *werp*

Tolson	_____
DeLoach	_____
Mohr	_____
Bishop	_____
Casper	_____
Callahan	_____
Conrad	_____
Felt	_____
Gale	_____
Rosen	_____
Sullivan	_____
Tavel	_____
Trotter	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holmes	_____
Gandy	_____

Bulky Exhibit File Number: 40-3798-558

We are in the process of reviewing all bulky exhibits in order that we may dispose of those which serve no further purpose. Inasmuch as many of the bulky exhibits pertain to inactive cases and are occupying badly needed space, it is requested that the appropriate substantive supervisor review the above-listed bulky exhibit and render a decision as to its retention or disposition. A notation as to the decision reached may be placed on this memorandum. The memorandum should be returned to the Filing Unit of the Records Branch, Room 1116, Identification Building, for filing in the case file.

b6
b7c

RECOMMENDATION:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/01 BY [redacted]

That captioned bulky exhibit be reviewed and a decision rendered as to the retention or disposition of the material.

LWB:jam

2/1/68
Retain
WKT

REC 13 40-3798-875

FEB 6 1968

FEB 13 1968
Records

77
INT-SEC

66 FEB 13 1968
190

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

Tolson _____
DeLoach _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Casper _____
Callahan _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Sullivan _____
Tavel _____
Trotter _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

TO : Mr. Tavel

DATE:

2-2-68

FROM : L. E. Short

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, WAS
INTERNAL SECURITY-C
PERJURY

Bulky Exhibit File Number: 40-3798-652

We are in the process of reviewing all bulky exhibits in order that we may dispose of those which serve no further purpose. Inasmuch as many of the bulky exhibits pertain to inactive cases and are occupying badly needed space, it is requested that the appropriate substantive supervisor review the above-listed bulky exhibit and render a decision as to its retention or disposition. A notation as to the decision reached may be placed on this memorandum. The memorandum should be returned to the Filing Unit of the Records Branch, Room 1116, Identification Building, for filing in the case file.

RECOMMENDATION:

That captioned bulky exhibit be reviewed and a decision rendered as to the retention or disposition of the material.

LWB:plb

Retain
WAT

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/01 BY: [redacted]

b6
b7c

40-3798-
NOT RECORDED

186 FEB 7 1968

78 FEB 7 1968

4-48

Best Copy Available

Austin, Texas

Jan. 21, 1970

78744

mls

Information Division
Federal Bureau of Investigation
Washington D.C.

Dear Sir,

I am a graduate student at the University of Texas presently en-
in doctoral research on the Communist Party of Mexico. It would
be of great help to me to arrange an interview with Earl Browder,
Secretary General of the U.S. Communist Party during the 1930's.

I have written several reference librarians throughout the United
States, but none have been able to determine Mr. Browder's where-
Do you have a mailing address for him or could you direct me to
someone who might? I would very much appreciate any assistance.

Thank you very much.

Sincerely,

[Redacted Signature]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/01 BY [Redacted]

REC-1

ST 10

40-3798-8

11 FEB 2 1971

ack/mml
1-28-71
LEE/mls

CORRESPONDENCE

REC-111

January 28, 1971

1/ ST 101 40-3798-876

[Redacted]

Austin, Texas 78744

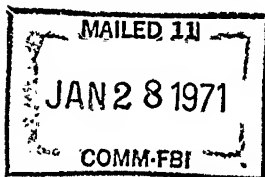
Dear [Redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/01 BY [Redacted]

b6
b7C

In reply to your letter received on January 25th,
information in our files must be maintained as confidential in
accordance with regulations of the Department of Justice. I
regret we are unable to be of assistance to you.

Sincerely yours,



J. Edgar Hoover

John Edgar Hoover
Director

NOTE: Bufiles contain no record of correspondent. Earl Browder
is the former head of the Communist Party in the United States and
is well known in the Bureau. Browder is alive and presently lives at
21 Maple Street, Princeton, New Jersey.
LEE:mls (3)

b6
b7C

→ DIED
1973

Tolson _____
Sullivan _____
Mohr _____
Bishop _____
Brennan, C.D. _____
Callahan _____
Casper _____
Conrad _____
Felt _____
Gale _____
Rosen _____
Tavel _____
Walters _____
Soyars _____
Tele. Room _____
Holmes _____
Gandy _____

REC'D POLICE
SEC'D ENCLIAVH

714 FEB 11 23 11/1351

54 FEB 8 1971

MAIL ROOM ☐ TELETYPE UNIT ☐

REC'D POLICE
SEC'D ENCLIAVH

714 FEB 15 15 11/1351

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO

[Redacted]

HB/jrd

DATE: 8/22/78

FROM

[Redacted]

Jus
jrd

SUBJECT: EARL RUSSELL BROWDER, WAS
INTERNAL SECURITY-C
PERJURY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 12/20/01 BY [Redacted]

b6
b7C

9234 Bulky Exhibit File Number: 40-3798-44, 558, 652

We are in the process of reviewing all bulky exhibits in order that we may dispose of those which serve no further purpose. Inasmuch as many of the bulky exhibits pertain to inactive cases and are occupying badly needed space, it is requested that the appropriate substantive supervisor review the above-listed bulky exhibit and render a decision as to its retention or disposition. A notation as to the decision reached may be placed on this memorandum. This memorandum, file, bulky enclosure and its contents, should be returned to Room 1B970, JEH-FBI Building, for appropriate handling.

RECOMMENDATION:

That captioned bulky exhibit be reviewed and a decision rendered as to the retention or disposition of the material.



Retain



Destroy



Other Disposition _____

Reason for Decision: THE COMMUNIST PARTY, USA (CPUSA) INVESTIGATION IS CURRENTLY ONGOING. ATTACHED INFORMATION MAY BE OF FUTURE EVIDENCIARY VALUE.

b6
b7C

Signature of Reviewing Supervisor

SA [Redacted]

Retained 12/16/78 [Signature]

40-3798-

NOT RECORDED

186 DEC 6 1978

FEB-4
Q877
56 DEC 6 1978